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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR

IN

GERMANY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST EDITION, IN GERMAN, OF

FREDERIC SCHILLER,

BY

JAMES MARRIOTT DUNCAN.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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1828.

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TO

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

DUTCHESS OF CLARENCE.

MADAM,

THE Permission so graciously given me to Dedicate this Work to your ROYAL HIGHNESS, while it makes me very sensible of the high honour conferred, cannot, at the same time, but cause me much to regret that my abilities have not been able to do more justice to that celebrated Author of your ROYAL HIGHNESS's Native Country, the immortal SCHILLER,—and that the pages you have thus been pleased to distinguish are not more deserving the suffrages of a

Princess no less beloved by the whole British Nation for her kind and amiable disposition than admired for the superiority of her mind.

MADAM,

Allow me now to express my ardent hope that the SOVEREIGN DISPOSER of all good may long be pleased to bless and protect your ROYAL HIGHNESS and your ILLUSTRIOUS ROYAL PARTNER, and grant you many years of happiness together.

I am, MADAM,

With the highest esteem,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most respectful and devoted servant,

JAMES MARRIOTT DUNCAN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Translator has endeavoured to render the last edition of the Thirty Years War in Germany, by Schiller, and published in the year 1802 (about three years before the decease of the Author), as near the original as possible, and, although he at first undertook this work by way of amusement, in order to occupy his leisure hours, he has now been induced, at the desire of several respectable friends, and from the attention which has of late been so deservedly paid to German Literature, to lay the present Translation before the Public, to whom he hopes it may not prove altogether unacceptable, the more especially when the importance of the events described in the following History, and the general esteem in which it is held throughout Europe, are taken into consideration.

It is here deemed proper to state, that a Translation of the Thirty Years War in Germany by a Gentleman of the name of Blaquiere, from an early edition of Schiller, in 1793, differing in many respects from the present, was published in England in the year 1799, which is not now to be obtained without difficulty,—and that Schiller's last edition, from which the present work is taken, has not long since, with some suppressions, been handsomely translated into French by Mons. C. L. de Woltmann.

Roehampton House, Surrey,
January, 1828.

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HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK I.

SINCE the commencement of the religious war in Germany, until the peace of Munster, scarcely any thing great and remarkable took place in the political world of Europe in which the Reformation had not the principal share. All historical events which happen in this time connect themselves with the reform of religion, if they do not originally flow from it; and all states, of whatever importance, have experienced, more or less, mediately or immediately, its influence. Almost the entire use which the House of Spain made of its enormous political strength, was directed against the new opinions, or the professors of them.

By means of the Reformation, the civil war was kindled in France, which, under four stormy reigns, shook this monarchy even to its foundation, drew foreign troops into the heart of this kingdom, and made it, during half a century, a theatre of the most frightful dissentions.

The Reformation made the Spanish yoke insupportable to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, and gave to these people both the desire and the courage to break it, whilst, at the same time, it principally gave them the power to do so. All the mischief which Philip the Second projected against Queen Elizabeth of England was to revenge himself against her for the protection which she

gave to his Protestant subjects, and because she had placed herself at the head of a religious party which he strove to destroy. The separation of the Church in Germany was, in the end, followed by a lasting separation in politics, which plunged, indeed, this country into anarchy for more than a century; but which, at the same time, erected a permanent barrier against political oppression.

It was principally the Reformation which first made the northern powers of Denmark and Sweden join in the political system of Europe, because the confederacy of the Protestant states was strengthened by their accession, and because this alliance was likewise indispensable to them. States, which hitherto scarcely ever had any political relations between them, by means of the Reformation began to obtain an important point of contact, and to feel a new political sympathy towards each other. In the same way as the Reformation changed the relation of citizen towards citizen, and of the prince towards the subject, so it likewise brought entire states into new relations with each other. And thus was the separation of the Church, by a strange anomaly, the cause which the more firmly united the states.

Terrible, indeed, and destructive was the first effect by which this universal political sympathy announced itself—a thirty years devastating war, which, from the interior of Bohemia to the mouth of the Schelde, and from the banks of the Po to the coasts of the Baltic, depopulated countries, and reduced towns and villages to ashes; a war, in which many thousand combatants found their destruction, which extinguished the rising sparks of civilization for half a century in Germany, and caused the milder, better, manners, scarcely budding, to give place

to the barbarous wildness of the ancient times. But Europe went, unoppressed and free, out of this frightful war, in which she acknowledged herself, for the first time, a society of states, united together by the closest ties; and these new relations, which only took place at this period, were advantages so considerable in themselves, as to reconcile the friend of humanity with its horrors. The hand of industry has imperceptibly extinguished all traces of this war; but the beneficent consequences with which it was accompanied still remain. Even this universal sympathy, which the shock of Bohemia communicated to half of Europe, now guards the peace which put an end to this war. As the flame of desolation found a way from the innermost of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, to set Germany, France, and the half of Europe, on fire, so will the light of civilization, in its turn, open a way from these latter states to enlighten those countries.

Religion brought about all these results. Through her alone what happened became possible; but the enterprises were very far from being made for her, and on account of her. Had not private advantage, and the general interests of the different states, been quickly united therewith, never would the voice of theologians, nor that of the people, have found such favourable dispositions among the rulers, nor the new doctrine such numerous, such brave, and such persevering, defenders. Without doubt the triumphant power of truth, or that which was taken for it, had the greatest part in the revolution which was made in the Church.

The abuses in the ancient Church, the many absurdities in its doctrines, its excessive pretensions, must, of necessity, excite minds already predisposed towards better opinions, and engage them to embrace the reform.

The allurement of independence, the rich booty of the ecclesiastical establishments, necessarily made the reigning princes long for a change of religion, and gave, in a great measure, power to their inward conviction. However, state reasons alone could not have been sufficiently urgent. Had not Charles the Fifth, in the intoxication of success, encroached upon the political freedom of the German States, hardly would a Protestant alliance have armed for religious freedom. Without the ambition of the Guises, the Calvinists in France would neither have seen a Condé nor a Coligny at their head: without the imposition of the tenth and twentieth penny, the See of Rome never would have lost the Netherlands. The princes combated for their self-defence, or aggrandizement—religious enthusiasm formed armies for them, and opened to them the treasures of their people.

The greatest number of those who joined their standards, if they were not allured by the hope of booty, believed they were shedding their blood for the true faith, whilst they were shedding it for the private interest of their princes. And it was fortunate enough for the people, that this time the private advantage of the princes went hand in hand with their own. To this accident alone they owe their deliverance from popery. It was fortunate enough for the princes, that their subjects fought for their own cause at the same time that they combated for theirs. In the age of which we are now speaking, no prince, if he pursued political projects, reigned so absolutely in Europe as to be independent of the good will of his people; but how difficult was it to win this good will of the nation, and to set it in action to favour his political designs!

The most energetic motives which are borrowed from

reasons of state, affect the people little, who do not perceive them, and who rarely interest themselves in them. In this case nothing remains to a skilful sovereign, but to unite the interest of the cabinet with some other that concerns the people more, if such already exists; or, if it does not, to create it. This was the situation in which a great number of the sovereigns found themselves, who declared in favour of the Reformation.

By an extraordinary concatenation of things it happened, that the schism of the Church coincided with two political circumstances, which gave to the Reformation entirely different results than what would probably have taken place without them. These were the sudden elevation of the House of Austria, which threatened the liberty of Europe, and the active zeal of this house for the ancient religion.

The former of these events awakened the attention of the princes; the latter armed the people in their favour. The abolishing of a foreign jurisdiction in their states, the supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs, the prevention of the flowing of money to Rome, and the rich booty of the religious endowments, were advantages that must be alike tempting to every sovereign.—Why, it may be asked, did not these advantages likewise seduce the princes of the Austrian House? What should prevent this House, and particularly the German line thereof, from giving a hearing to the pressing demands of so many of its subjects, and from enriching itself, after the example of others, at the expense of a defenceless clergy? It is scarcely to be believed, that the conviction of the infallibility of the Roman Church, should have had a greater share in the pious constancy of this House, than the conviction of the contrary had in the defection of the Protestant princes. Many

different reasons united to make the Austrian Princes supporters of Popery. Spain and Italy, from whence this House drew a great part of its forces, were devoted with blind adherence to the see of Rome, and which distinguished the Spaniards, in particular, as early as in the times of the Gothic dominion. The least approximation to the detested doctrines of Luther and Calvin could not but irretrievably alienate from the monarch of Spain the hearts of his subjects: his separation from Popery might cost him this kingdom. A Spanish king must be an orthodox monarch, or he must descend from his throne. His Italian States imposed the same constraint upon him: perhaps it was necessary that he should treat them with even more attention than those of Spain, because they most impatiently bore the foreign yoke, and could the most easily shake it off.

Besides, these states gave him France for a competitor, and the Pope for a neighbour—sufficient reasons to prevent him from declaring himself for a party, whose aim was to destroy the Pope's authority, and which called upon him to attach the latter to him, by shewing the most active zeal for the ancient religion.

These general considerations, equally important to every Spanish monarch, were yet supported by each of them particularly, for special reasons.

Charles the Fifth had a dangerous rival in Italy in the King of France, into whose arms the people of Italy would throw themselves, the instant that he exposed himself to the suspicion of heresy.

Besides, the mistrust of the Catholics, and a quarrel with the church, would have presented direct obstacles to the projects which he then pursued with so much ardour. When Charles the Fifth was so situated, that he must

choose between both religions, the new had not yet acquired a great consideration in his mind; and, above all, the hope of a friendly reconciliation between both churches being at hand, even at this time, was very probable. In his son and successor, Philip the Second, a monkish education was united with a despotic gloomy disposition, to maintain in this prince an implacable hatred to all innovations in matters of faith; and this hatred could not be diminished by the circumstance, that his worst political opponents were at the same time enemies to his religion. As his European lands, scattered through so many foreign states, lay open every where to the influence of foreign opinions, he could not, therefore, look with indifference on the progress of the Reformation in other countries; and his own more immediate political interest called upon him to adopt generally the ancient church, in order to stop the sources of heretical contagion. The natural order of things, therefore, placed this prince at the head of the Catholic faith, and the league which the Papists entered into against the innovators. The conduct, which was observed under the long and eventful reigns of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, remained a law for their successors; and the more the separation in the church extends itself, the more firmly must Spain side with the Catholics.

The German line of the house of Austria appears to have been more at liberty; but if it was not restrained by most of the obstacles spoken of, there were yet others which equally fettered it. The imperial crown on the head of a Protestant could not at all be thought of; for how could an apostate to the Roman Church wear the Roman imperial crown? The desire of preserving it, then, naturally attached the successors of Ferdinand the First to the Papal

See, and Ferdinand himself was sincerely, and from principle, devoted to the Pope.

Besides, the German Austrian Princes were not sufficiently powerful to do without the support of Spain, and they necessarily lost it if they protected the new religion. The imperial dignity also obliged them to defend the political system of Germany, which placed them upon the imperial throne, and which the Protestant party in the empire endeavoured to destroy. If we add to this, the indifference of the Protestants towards the Emperor's necessities, and to the common danger of the empire, their violent usurpations upon the temporalities of the Church, and their acts of hostility where they felt themselves to be the strongest, then it is understood how so many co-operating reasons tended to keep the Emperors on the side of Popery, and how their particular interests must be most strongly united with that of the Catholic religion.

The entire fate, perhaps, of this religion, depended upon the part which the House of Austria embraced: the Austrian Princes must therefore be considered, throughout all Europe, as the pillars of Popery. The hatred of the Protestants was therefore turned unanimously on this account against Austria, and confounded, by degrees, the Protector, with the cause which he protected. But even this House of Austria, the irreconcilable enemy of the Reformation, placed at the same time, by its ambitious projects, which were supported by immense forces, the political liberty of the European States, and particularly that of the German States, in not a little danger.

This circumstance must make the latter fear for their security, and cause them to be attentive to their own self-defence. Their usual resources would never have been sufficient to withstand so threatening a power. They

were obliged to demand extraordinary exertions from their subjects; and, as these did not by far suffice, they were compelled to borrow forces from their neighbours, and to seek by alliances with each other, to counterbalance a power against which, singly, they could not stand. But the great political reasons which urged the sovereigns to oppose themselves to the progress of Austria, did not exist for their subjects.

Only present advantages, or actual dangers, are capable of setting the people in action; and it is this, that a wise policy ought not to wait for. What difficulties, then, would not these princes have experienced, if, happily for them, another motive more powerful had not offered itself proper to put their subjects into action, and to excite in them an enthusiasm susceptible of being directed against the political danger, because it concurred in the same object with them? This motive was the declared hatred of the people against a religion which the House of Austria protected,—the enthusiastic attachment to a doctrine which this house strove to extirpate with fire and sword. The attachment to this doctrine was most ardent; the hatred against the ancient religion was invincible. Religious enthusiasm fears that which is remote;—fanaticism never reckons what it sacrifices. What the most pressing danger of the state had not been able to obtain from its citizens, religious enthusiasm accomplished. For the interest of the state, for the interest of the princes, but few men would voluntarily have armed themselves: for religion, the merchant, the artificer, the agriculturalist, joyfully took up arms. For the cause of the state, or that of the princes, they would willingly have sought to withdraw themselves from the least extraordinary tax; for that of religion, they sacrificed their blood, their fortune, and

all their temporal hopes. Three times greater sums flow at present into the treasuries of the princes; three times greater armies take the field; and, in the violent agitation which the near danger of religion placed all minds, the subject felt not the efforts under which he, in a more tranquil state of mind, would have sunk. The fear of the Spanish Inquisition, of such massacres as of those of Saint Bartholomew, opened to the Prince of Orange, the Admiral Coligny, the British Queen Elizabeth, and the Protestant German Princes, resources of their people that are even now unaccountable.

Notwithstanding such great efforts on their part, however, they would have performed but little against a power which was superior to the most powerful prince, if he stood alone.

In the times of a yet but little cultivated policy, only accidental circumstances were able to engage remote states to reciprocal assistance. The varieties of constitutions, of laws, of languages, of manners, of national character, which separated the nations and countries into so many distinct states, placed a perpetual barrier between them, and rendered them insensible to the oppressions of their neighbours; fortunate if they did not even excite the national jealousy to a hostile mischievous joy. The Reformation threw down this barrier. A more lively and nearer interest than national advantage, or the love of country, and which was totally independent of civil relations, began to animate single citizens and whole states. This interest could bind several, and even the most distant states together, and yet cease to exist among subjects of the same nation. Thus the French Calvinist had a point of contact with the reformed of Geneva, of England, Germany, or Holland, which he had not with his own

Catholic citizen. Hence, he ceases, in a very important point, to be a citizen of a single state, and to confine exclusively his attention and his cares to it. His circle expands itself; he begins, from the fate of foreign lands, which are of his own faith, to predict his own, and to make their cause his own. Now, for the first time, the sovereigns dare venture to lay foreign affairs before the assembly of their states; now, for the first time, they hope to find a willing ear and speedy succour. These foreign affairs are now become domestic ones, and an assisting hand is willingly lent to his brother in faith, which would have been refused to the mere neighbour, and still more to the distant foreigner. Now, the inhabitant of the Palatinate forsakes his native home, to fight for his French brother in faith against the common enemy of their religion. The French subject draws the sword against his native land, that ill uses him, and goes to bleed for the freedom of Holland. Now Swiss are seen armed against Swiss, Germans against Germans, to decide, upon the borders of the Loire or the Seine, the succession to the throne of France. The Dane passes the Eider, the Swede the Baltic, to break the chains which are forged for Germany. It is difficult to say, what would have become of the Reformation, and the liberty of the German empire, if the dreaded House of Austria had not taken a part against them. So much, however, appears proved, that nothing opposed itself more to the Austrian princes' plan of universal monarchy, than the obstinate war which they carried on against the new opinions.

In no other circumstances than these, was it possible for the weaker princes of Germany to draw the extraordinary resources from their states with which they resisted the Austrian power; in no other circumstances was it possible

for the states of the empire to unite themselves against the common enemy.

The Austrian power never stood higher than after the victory of Charles the Fifth, at Muhlberg, after he had conquered the Germans. With the alliance of Schmalkalden, it appeared the German liberty was for ever overthrown; however, it revived in Maurice, of Saxony, who had been its most dangerous enemy. All the fruits of the victory of Muhlberg were lost at the Congress of Passau, and at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg; and all the arrangements, for temporal and spiritual oppressions, terminate in a peace full of concessions. Germany rent, at this Diet of Augsburg, into two religious and two political parties, is now first divided; because the separation now, for the first time, was lawful. Until this period, the Protestants were looked upon as rebels; now it was resolved to treat them as brethren; not as if their opponents had acknowledged them to be such, but because they were compelled to do so. The confession of Augsburg might now place itself by the side of the Catholic faith; yet, only as a tolerated neighbour, with sisterly rights for a time. To every secular state of the empire the right was granted to make the religion which it professed, upon its own territory, the reigning one, and the only one, and to refuse a free exercise to that which it rejected. Every subject was permitted to leave the land where his religion was oppressed.

Now, for the first time, therefore, the doctrine of Luther rejoiced in a positive sanction; and, though it were oppressed in Bavaria and Austria, it might yet console itself by its reigning triumphantly, at least, in Saxony and Thuringen. Now, however, it was left to the princes alone to determine which religion should prevail in their countries, and which should be overthrown. For the sub-

ject who had no representative at the Diet, very little provision was made in this peace. Merely in the ecclesiastical countries, in which the Catholic religion remained irrevocably the prevailing one, the free exercise of religion was granted to the Protestant subjects who were Protestants at that very time: but even this was only by a personal assurance of Ferdinand, King of Rome, who brought this peace to pass; an assurance, against which the Catholic party of the empire protested; and which, inserted with this protestation in the treaty of peace, received no force of law.

Besides, had it been only opinions which divided the minds of men, how indifferently would one have beheld this separation. But upon these opinions, riches, dignities, and rights, depended; a circumstance which made the separation infinitely difficult. Of two brothers, who had hitherto enjoyed in common the paternal property, one now left the father's house, and it became necessary to make a division with the brother remaining at home. The father had determined nothing in the case of separation, because he could not foresee it. From the beneficent establishments of their ancestors, the property of the Church had, in the space of a thousand years, accumulated; and these ancestors belonged to the brother who went away, as well as to him who remained. Now, did the right of succession adhere to the paternal house merely, or did it adhere to the blood? The endowments were made to the Catholic Church, because at that time no other existed: they had been given to the eldest brother, because at that time he was the only son. Now, did there exist in the Church a right of primogeniture, as in noble families? Did the favouring of one side stand good, when the other could not be opposed to it? Could the Lutherans

be excluded from the enjoyment of these properties, which their ancestors had contributed to found, merely because in the times of the endowments there was no difference between Lutheran and Catholic?

Both parties have litigated this question, with arguments equally specious, against one another, and still litigate it: but it would be as difficult for the one party, as for the other, to prove its right. Law has decisions for probable cases only, and perhaps ecclesiastical endowments belong not to these; at least, if one extends the intentions of their founders to dogmatical points,—for how can it be imagined, that they conferred donations in perpetuity, on account of changeable opinions? If equity cannot determine, force does; and so it happened here. The one party retained what could not be taken from it, and the other defended what it still had. All the bishoprics and abbeys, which had been secularized before the peace, remained to the Protestants; but the Catholics preserved to themselves a peculiar reservation, that in future not any more should be secularized. Every occupant of an ecclesiastical foundation, that was immediately subjected to the empire, whether elector, bishop, or abbot, had his benefice and dignity forfeited, as soon as he became an apostate to the Catholic Church. He was directly obliged to abandon his possessions, and the chapter proceeded to a new election, as if his place were vacated by death. To this sacred anchor of ecclesiastical reserve, which made the whole temporal existence of an ecclesiastical prince depend upon his creed, the Catholic Church in Germany is fastened to this very day; and what would become of it, if this anchor were torn away?

The ecclesiastical reservation suffered an obstinate opposition on the side of the Protestant states; and, although they at last inserted it in the treaty of peace, it was done

upon the express condition, that both parties had not agreed on this point. Did this reserve bind the Protestant party more than Ferdinand's assurance in favour of Protestant subjects, in ecclesiastical states, did the Catholics? The peace, therefore, left two points of contention undecided; and from these the war was kindled. Such was the state of things, both with respect to religious liberty and ecclesiastical property; it was the same with the privileges and dignities of the clergy. The political system of the German empire belonged to one only Church, because one only existed when this system was formed.

The Church had divided; the imperial Diet itself had divided into two religious parties:—and yet ought the whole system of the empire to follow exclusively one of these parties? All the emperors, till now, were sons of the Roman Church; because this Church had been to this time without a rival in Germany. Was it, however, this relation with Rome that made the German Emperor? or, was it not rather Germany which was represented in its emperor? But the Protestant party also belonged to the whole of Germany; and how does this represent itself in an uninterrupted series of Catholic emperors?

The German states judged themselves, in the supreme court of the empire, because they themselves appointed the judges thereof: that they should do so, and that an equal justice should be done to all, was the spirit of its foundation. Can this end be accomplished if both of the religious parties do not equally share therein?

That the Catholic religion alone existed at the period of this institution, was accidental: to prevent any one estate from oppressing another, was the original design of it; but this design fails, when one religious party is suffered, exclusively, to prescribe laws for another. Now must an

original intention be abandoned because accident had changed circumstances? Finally, and with great trouble, the Protestants obtained a seat for their religion in the sovereign tribunal of the empire; but they were far from having an equal number of votes in it. The imperial crown has never yet been placed upon the head of a Protestant. Whatever may be said of the equality which the religious peace of Augsburg introduced between the two German Churches, the Catholic incontestably came off victorious. All that the Lutheran Church obtained was toleration; and all that the Catholic gave up, was sacrificed to necessity, and not to justice. It was not yet a peace made between two powers reputed equal; but merely an agreement between the master and an unconquered rebel. From this principle, all proceedings of the Catholic Church against the Protestants seem to have flowed, and seem still to flow. It was yet a crime to go over to the Protestant Church, since it was punished with so heavy a loss as the ecclesiastical reservation imposed upon apostate ecclesiastical princes. Even in after times, the Catholic Church preferred risking the loss of every thing by force, rather than give up a small advantage voluntarily and lawfully, for there was yet a hope of recovering a thing taken away by violence; and its loss was still regarded as accidental; but a pretension yielded, a right granted in favour of the Protestants, shook the foundation pillar of the Catholic Church. In the religious peace itself, this principle was not lost sight of. What was relinquished in this peace to the Protestants, was not given up unconditionally. It was expressly stated, that all should only be valid till the next general council, which was to occupy itself in reuniting both Churches. Only then, if this last experiment should fail, the reli-

gious peace should have an absolute validity. However little hope there was of this reunion taking place, however little, perhaps, the Catholics were in earnest to effect it themselves, they had, notwithstanding, gained thus much, that the peace was restrained by this condition. The religious peace, therefore, which was for ever to smother the flame of the civil war, was, at bottom, but a temporary expedient, a work of necessity and force, not dictated by the law of justice, nor the fruit of correct ideas upon religion and religious liberty. The Catholics could not consent to give a religious peace of the latter kind, and, to be sincere, such a one the Protestants were not yet prepared for.

So far from shewing an unlimited equity towards the Catholics, they even oppressed the Calvinists whenever it was in their power; who, it is true, did not merit a toleration, in the better sense of the word, as they were very far from exercising it themselves towards others. For a religious peace of this nature, these times were not yet prepared, and men's minds were not sufficiently enlightened. How could one party demand of the other, what it was incapable of granting itself? What each religious party gained in the peace of Augsburg, it owed to the accidental relation of power in which both stood to one another at the conclusion of the peace.

What was obtained by force, must be maintained by force. These relations of power must therefore continue to exist for the future, or the peace would lose its effect. With the sword in hand were the limits between both Churches drawn; with the sword they must be guarded; or woe to the party which first laid down its arms! an uncertain future, a most frightful prospect, for the repose of Germany, which already threatened it, from the very

peace itself! A momentary calm now followed in the empire, and a temporary tie seemed to unite once more the separated members to one body, and the feeling of the common welfare returned for some time. But the separation had done so much mischief, that it was no longer possible to re-establish the former harmony. Though the peace seemed to have so exactly determined the bounds of right of both parties, it did not remain the less subject to discordant interpretations. It had imposed upon the combating parties a cessation of hostilities amidst their most heated warfare; it had covered the firebrand, but not extinguished it. Unsatisfied claims remained on both sides. The Catholics believed that they had lost too much, the Protestants that they had gained too little; both parties contended themselves in interpreting the peace according to their own views, and which, at present, they did not venture to violate. The same powerful motive which had made so many Protestant princes inclined to embrace the doctrine of Luther, the taking possession of the ecclesiastical foundation, was, after the concluded peace, not less efficacious than before; and those of the mediate establishments, which were not yet in their hands, must soon fall into them. All lower Germany was, in a short time, secularized; and, if it was not the same with upper Germany, it lay in the active opposition of the Catholics, who had the ascendency there. Each party oppressed, whenever it was the most powerful, the adherents of the other; the ecclesiastical princes, in particular, as they were the most defenceless members of the empire, were continually teazed by the desire for aggrandizement of their Protestant neighbours. He, who was too feeble to repel force by force, took refuge under the wings of law, and the suits for spoliations against the Pro-

testant states were accumulated at the diet of the empire, which was ready enough to condemn the accused party, but had not sufficient power to carry their sentences into execution. The peace which yielded to the states of the empire the complete liberty of religion, had, in some degree, provided for the subject, as it reserved the right for him freely to leave the land in which his religion was oppressed. But the dead letter of this peace could not protect him against the violence with which the sovereign oppressed a hated subject, or against the nameless oppressions which made the retreat of the emigrant difficult; and against artfully placed snares, in which craft, conjoined with strength, can entangle the mind.

The Catholic subject, of a Protestant prince, complained loudly of the violation of the treaty of peace; the Protestant still louder, of the oppressions which he experienced from his Catholic ruler. The animosities and rage for litigation of theologians poisoned every event that was insignificant in itself, and inflamed the minds of people:—happy enough, if this theological rage could have exhausted itself on the common enemy of the Protestant religion, without casting its venom upon its own brethren.

The union of the Protestants among themselves would have sufficed, at last, to maintain an equilibrium between both parties, and thereby to prolong the peace; but, to make the confusion complete, this concord soon vanished.

The doctrine, which Zwingli had propagated in Zurich, and Calvin in Geneva, soon began to gain firm ground in Germany, and to divide the Protestants among themselves, so that they were hardly any longer known to one another, but by their common hatred to Popery. The Protestants of these times no longer resembled those, who, fifty years before, made their confession at Augsburg;

and the cause of this alteration is to be sought for even in this very confession of Augsburg. This confession set determined bounds to the Protestant faith, before the awakened spirit of investigation was well pleased with these limits; and the Protestants lost, unknowingly, a part of the profit that was assured to them by their defection from Popery. Equal complaints against the Roman hierarchy and against the abuses in the Roman Church, an equal disapprobation of the Catholic system, would have been sufficient to serve as the point of union for the Protestant Church; but they sought this point of union in a new positive system of faith, placed in this mark of distinction; the pre-eminence, the essence of their Church, and referred to it the agreement that they concluded with the Catholics. They consented to this religious peace merely as adherents of the confession; the brethren of the confession alone had a share in the benefits of this peace. Whatever, therefore, the consequences might be, it was equally bad to the brethren of the confession. A permanent limit was set to the spirit of investigation, if a blind obedience should be made to the precepts of the confession: the point of contact, however, was lost, if they were disunited about the established formula.

Unfortunately both happened, and the bad consequences of both took place. One party held fast to the first confession; and, if the Calvinists separated from it, it was done only in order to form, in a similar way, a new system for themselves.

The Protestants could hardly have given more plausible pretences to their common enemy, than this disagreement among themselves; nor a more pleasing spectacle, than the animosities with which they reciprocally pursued one another. Who could now impute it to the Catholics as a

crime, if they found that presumption completely ridiculous with which the Reformers endeavoured to propagate the only true system of religion? If they borrowed, from Protestants themselves, arms against Protestants—if they, relatively to this contradiction of opinions, adhered firmly to the authority of their faith, in favour of which a venerable antiquity, and, in part, a still more venerable plurality of suffrages, spoke.

But by this separation the Protestants were embarrassed in a yet more serious manner. The religious peace was made with a view to the brethren of the confession alone, and the Catholics now pressed for a declaration as to whom they, the Catholics, should acknowledge to be their brethren in faith.

The Lutherans could not include the Calvinists in their alliance without burdening their consciences, and they could not exclude them from it without changing a useful friend into a dangerous enemy.

Thus this unfortunate separation paved a way for the machinations of the Jesuits to sow mistrust between both parties, and to destroy the harmony of their measures. Bound by the double fear of the Catholics and their own Protestant adversaries, the Protestants neglected the never-returning moment to gain equal rights for their Church with the Romish. And, could they have escaped all these embarrassments, the defection of the Calvinists would not at all have prejudiced the common cause, if the point of union had been sought in the withdrawing from Popery alone, and not in the confession of Augsburg, nor in any other plan of concord. But, however much people were divided in all other things, it was unanimously comprehended, that a security, which was merely owing to the equality of power, could not be preserved but by

this equality of power. The continual reforms of the one party, and the counter-efforts of the other, kept up a watchfulness on both sides, and the substance of the religious peace was the signal of eternal strife. Every step that the one party took, could not but tend to the detriment of this peace; every step that the other took, was for the purpose of maintaining it. All the movements of the Catholics were not made with an offensive design, as the contrary party accused them of—much of what they did *self-defence* made a duty to them.

The Protestants had shewn, in no ambiguous manner, what the Catholics would have to expect if they should have the misfortune to be the vanquished party. The longing of the Protestants after the ecclesiastical property did not allow them to expect any indulgence at their hands, nor their hatred any generosity or toleration. But, on the other hand, it was pardonable in the Protestants if they placed little confidence in the Papists.—Through the faithless and barbarous manner with which they treated their brethren of the faith in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, through the shameful evasions of the Catholic Princes, who allowed the Pope to absolve them from their most solemn oaths, and, from the abominable principle, that neither truth nor faith ought to be kept with heretics, the Catholic Church had lost their honour in the eyes of all people of integrity.

The Protestants could not depend on any assurance or oath, however awful, from the mouth of a Papist. How could the religious peace be respected, which the Jesuits represented through all Germany as a temporary convenience only, and that was even solemnly rejected in Rome!

The general council to which they referred in this peace, took place, in the mean time, in the town of

Trent; but, as was expected, without having united the contending religions, without having taken a single step towards this union, and without the Protestants taking any share in it. The Protestants were indeed solemnly excommunicated by the Church, for whose representatives the council gave themselves out.

Could a contract, profane in their eyes, and, moreover, obtained by force of arms, give sufficient security against the ban of the Church—a contract which rested upon a condition that seemed to annul the decrees of the council? An appearance of justice was, therefore, no longer wanting, if the Catholics found themselves otherwise powerful enough to violate the religious peace. From this time, therefore, nothing more protected the Protestants than respect to their power. More things contributed to increase the distrust. Spain, on which power the Catholic part of Germany depended for support, was at this time engaged in a violent war with the Netherlands, which had drawn the best of the Spanish forces on the borders of Germany. How quickly might these troops be placed in the empire, if a decisive blow made them necessary there! Germany was, at this time, a kind of military depôt for nearly all the European powers. The religious war had accumulated soldiers there, whom a peace deprived of bread. It was easy for so many princes, independent of one another, to assemble an army, which they, either from desire of profit or party zeal, might lend to foreign powers. With German troops Philip the Second made war against the Netherlands, and with German troops the Netherlands were defended. Every such levy of troops in Germany always alarmed one of the two parties of religion, lest it should tend to the oppression of either. A travelling ambassador—an extraor-

dinary Popish legate—a meeting of princes—every unusual appearance—could not but announce destruction to the one party or the other. So stood Germany for nearly half a century, (the hand upon the sword) terrified at every rustling leaf. Ferdinand the First, King of Hungary, and his excellent son, Maximilian the Second, held the reins of the empire at this critical juncture. With a heart full of sincerity, with a truly-heroical patience, Ferdinand had effected the religious peace at Augsburg, and lost both his time and his trouble in the ungrateful attempt to unite the two Churches at the council of Trent.

Deserted by his nephew, Philip of Spain, and, at the same time, pressed by the victorious arms of the Turks in Transylvania and Hungary, how could it enter into the mind of this Emperor to violate the religious peace, and to destroy his own difficult work? The great expence attending the renewal of the Turkish war could not be supplied by the sparing contributions of his exhausted hereditary dominions; he, therefore, required the assistance of the empire; and the religious peace alone kept the divided empire still in one united body. Pecuniary necessities made the Protestants not less necessary to him than the Catholics, and, therefore, compelled him to treat both parties with equal justice; which, on account of so many contradictory pretensions, was truly a Herculean labour; and he was very far from making the event correspond with his wishes.—His condescension towards the Protestants had only served to reserve for his descendants that war which his death saved him the mortification of beholding. His son Maximilian was not much more fortunate, who, perhaps, was only constrained by circumstances;— who, perhaps, only required a longer life to raise the new religion to the imperial throne. Necessity

had taught the father forbearance towards the Protestants, necessity and justice dictated it to his son. The grandson suffered dearly that he neither listened to justice nor obeyed necessity. Maximilian left six sons, but only the eldest of these, Archduke Rodolph, inherited his states and ascended the imperial throne; the remaining brothers must be contented with moderate appanages. A few of the neighbouring states belonged to a collateral branch, which Charles of Styria, their uncle, continued in his person; yet all these were already united with the other inheritances under Ferdinand the Second, his son. These lands, therefore, excepted, the whole considerable power of the House of Austria was now collected in one hand; but that was unfortunately a weak one. Rodolph the Second was not without virtues, which must have acquired him the love of men, if he had been content with the lot of a private individual. His character was mild—he loved peace and the sciences—in particular astronomy, natural history, chemistry, and the study of antiquities, to which he was passionately inclined; that, however, at a time when the doubtful situation of affairs required the strongest attention, and his exhausted finances made the greatest economy necessary, drew him away from the affairs of Government, and excited him to a very pernicious prodigality. His taste for astronomy degenerated into astrological dreams, to which such a melancholy and fearful mind as he possesed easily gives way. This, and a youth spent in Spain, caused him to listen to the worst counsels of the Jesuits, and the suggestions of the Spanish court, which ruled him at last in an unlimited manner.

Attracted by a predilection so little worthy of his great station, and frightened by ridiculous presages, he with-

drew himself, after the Spanish manner, from his subjects, to conceal himself among his gems and antiquities, in his laboratory, and in his stables, whilst the most dangerous dissentions loosened all the bands of the German political body, and the flame of rebellion began to approach the steps of his throne. Access to him was denied to every one, without exception; the most pressing affairs were unattended to; the prospect of the rich inheritance of the crown of Spain vanished, because he remained undetermined to give the infant Isabella his hand; the most frightful anarchy threatened the empire, because, although without an heir himself, he could not be prevailed upon to elect a Roman king. The Austrian states renounced their allegiance; Hungary and Transylvania declared themselves independent; and Bohemia did not long delay to follow their example. The posterity of the once so much dreaded Charles the Fifth was in danger of losing one share of their possessions to the Turks, and another to the Protestants, and of being subdued by a formidable alliance of princes, which a great monarch in Europe drew against them. In the interior of Germany it happened as it always had formerly when the throne wanted an emperor, or the emperor an imperial mind. Mortified or forsaken by the head of the empire, the states helped themselves, and repaired the deficient authority of the emperor by alliances. Germany was divided into two leagues, which were opposed to each other in arms. Rodolph, a contemptible opponent of the one, and a powerless protector of the other, stood idle and useless between both, equally incapable of dispersing the one, or of ruling the other. What, therefore, could the German kingdom expect of a prince who was not even able to defend his own hereditary states against an inter-

nal enemy? To prevent the entire ruin of the Austrian family, his own House united against him, and a powerful faction made his brother their chief. Driven from all his hereditary states, nothing remained for him to lose but the imperial crown; and it was only a timely death which saved him this last disgrace. It was Germany's evil genius that gave it at this eventful period a Rodolph for an emperor, when only a dexterous policy, and a powerful arm, could save the peace of the kingdom. In a more tranquil epoch, the German empire would have aided itself, and Rodolph, like so many others of his rank, might have hid his incapacity in a mystical darkness.

The pressing necessity of virtues, in which he was deficient, brought his incapacity to light. The situation of Germany demanded an emperor, who, by his own resources, could give consequence to his decisions: and the hereditary dominions of Rodolph, considerable as they were, were in a situation that placed the sovereign in the greatest embarrassment.

The Austrian Princes were indeed Catholic Princes, and, still more, supporters of Popery: but much was wanting to make their countries Catholic ones. The new opinions had likewise penetrated into these countries, and, favoured by Ferdinand's necessities, and Maximilian's goodness, had made a rapid progress. The Austrian countries shewed, on a small scale, what Germany was on a large one. The greater part of the nobility and knights were Lutherans, and the Protestants had gained, by far, the ascendancy in the states.

After they had succeeded in bringing a few from among their number into the Government, one place under Government after another, one college after another, was insensibly occupied by Protestants, and the Catholics

were expelled from thence. Against the numerous nobility, knights, and the deputies, of the towns, the voice of a few prelates was too feeble, and the ill-mannered raillery, and mortifying contempt of the other members, frightened them away completely from the diet.

Thus, the whole meeting of the Austrian diet became insensibly Protestant, and the Reformation, from this time, took the speediest steps towards a public existence. The sovereign was dependent upon the states, because it was they that could refuse or grant the contributions. They took advantage of the pecuniary necessity in which Ferdinand and his son found themselves, to extort, by degrees, from these princes, one privilege of religion after another. The nobility and knights gained, at last, from Maximilian, the free exercise of their religion; but only in their own territories and castles. The indiscreet fanatical zeal of the Protestant preachers went beyond this aim set up by wisdom. Contrary to the express prohibition, several of them preached publicly in the provincial towns, and even in Vienna; and the people ran in multitudes to hear this new doctrine, the best seasoning of which was made up of satire and abuses. Thus perpetual nourishment was given to fanaticism, and the hatred of both churches, so nearly allied to one another, was poisoned by the venom of their impure zeal. Of all the hereditary dominions of the Austrian House, Hungary and Transylvania were the most insecure, and the most difficult to be maintained. The impossibility of defending both these countries against the near and superior power of the Turks, had already urged Ferdinand to the inglorious step of allowing the Porte a yearly tribute for the sovereignty of Transylvania—a pernicious acknowledgement of weakness, and a yet more dangerous in-

citement to the restless nobility, when they thought they had reason to complain of their superior. The Hungarians had not, unconditionally, submitted to the House of Austria: they maintained the freedom of election of their sovereign, and boldly claimed all rights belonging to the states, which are inseparable from the freedom of election.

The proximity of the Turkish kingdom, and the facility of changing their masters with impunity, strengthened the Grandees still more in this insolence: discontented with the Austrian Government, they threw themselves into the arms of the Ottomans; discontented with these, they returned to German sovereignty. The frequent and rash transition from one master to another, had communicated itself to their way of thinking: as their country wavered between German and Ottoman masters, their minds likewise fluctuated between defection and submission. The more unfortunate both countries felt themselves to be, degraded into provinces of a foreign monarchy, the more determined were their endeavours to choose a master from amongst themselves; and thus it was not difficult for an enterprising nobleman to secure their allegiance.

The nearest Turkish Bashaw very willingly presented a rebel against Austria, with the sceptre and crown of Hungary; and Austria was just as willing to confirm another in the possession of the Provinces which she had torn from the Porte, contented to have saved only a shadow of power, and thereby to have acquired a barrier against the Turks. Several such Grandees as Bathori, Boschkai, Ragoczi, Bethlen, rose up in this manner, one after another, in Transylvania and Hungary, as tributary kings, who maintained themselves by no other policy than that of

joining themselves to the enemy, to make themselves the more formidable to their master.

Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Rodolph, all three sovereigns of Transylvania and Hungary, exhausted the substance of their other lands, to maintain both of these against the inundation of the Turks, and against internal rebellion. Depopulating wars, alternated upon these territories, with short suspensions of arms, which were not much better. The land was laid waste from one end to the other, and the oppressed subject complained equally of his enemies and of his protector. The Reformation had also penetrated into these countries, where it made considerable progress, under the protection of the defenders of the freedom of the states, and under the cloak of tumult. And this liberty was inconsiderately attacked, and the political spirit of faction became more dangerous through religious fanaticism. The Transylvanian and Hungarian nobles, led on by Boschkai, a bold rebel, erected the standard of sedition. The leaders in Hungary threaten to take part, and make common cause with the ill-used Protestants in Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, and to draw all these countries into one frightful rebellion. Then was the destruction of Popery in these countries inevitable. For some time, the archdukes of Austria, the emperor's brothers, had viewed with silent indignation the destruction of their House: this last circumstance determined their resolution.

Archduke Matthias, Maximilian's second son, Stadtholder in Hungary, and Rodolph's probable inheritor, stepped forth to offer to support the falling House of Habsburg. In youthful years, led away by a false desire of glory, this prince had opposed the interest of his house to obey the invitation given by a few of the Netherland

rebels, who called him to their native land to defend the freedom of the nation against his own relation, Philip the Second. Matthias, who, in the voice of a few factious, believed he heard the voice of the entire population of the Netherlands, appeared upon this call in that country. However, the consequence answered the wishes of the Brabanters as little as his own expectations, and he withdrew ingloriously from an unwise undertaking. His second appearance in the political world was the more honourable. After his repeated invitations to the emperor without effect, he called the archduke, his brothers and cousins, to Presburg, and consulted with them on the increasing danger of the House. The brothers unanimously transferred to him, as the eldest, the defence of their hereditary rights, which a weak-minded brother was neglecting. They placed all their power and rights in the hands of this eldest, and invested him with sovereign power to provide for the common good to the best of his knowledge.

Matthias immediately opened a negociation with the Porte and the Hungarian rebels, and his abilities succeeded in saving the rest of Hungary by a peace with the Turks, and, by an agreement with the rebels, Austria's pretensions to the lost provinces. But Rodolph, as jealous of his sovereign power as he was negligent in maintaining it, kept back the ratification of this peace, which he considered as a culpable invasion of his power. He accused the archduke of an understanding with the enemy, and of treacherous views upon the Hungarian crown.

Matthias's proceedings were by no means free from selfish projects; but the behaviour of the emperor accelerated the execution of his designs. Convinced from their gratitude of the affection of the Hungarians, to whom

he had lately presented this peace, and also assured by his negociators of the devotion of the nobles, and certain of numerous adherents even in Austria herself, he ventures now to shew more openly his views, and to dispute with the emperor, sword in hand. The Protestants in Austria and Moravia, long ready for insurrection, and now won to the archduke by the promise of religious toleration, espouse loudly and openly his cause, and their long threatened union with the Hungarian rebels really comes to pass. A frightful conspiracy has at once formed itself against the emperor. He resolves too late to reform his committed faults; he seeks in vain to dissolve this destructive alliance. Already all are in arms; Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, have sworn allegiance to Matthias, who is already upon the road to Bohemia to seek the emperor in his castle there, and to cut the sinews of his power. The kingdom of Bohemia was not a much quieter possession for Austria than Hungary, only with the difference, that here more political reasons, there more religion, maintained the dissention. In Bohemia, it was a century before Luther that the first fire of the war of religion broke out. In Bohemia the thirty years war flamed a century after Luther. The sect of which John Huss was the founder continued still strong in Bohemia, agreeing in the ceremonies and doctrines of the Romish Church, the article of the Lord's Supper only excepted, which the Hussites enjoyed in both forms. The council of Basil had allowed this prerogative in a peculiar agreement (called the Bohemian compact) to the adherents of Huss; and, although it was afterwards disputed by the Popes, yet they still continued to enjoy it under the protection of the laws. As the use of the chalice constituted the only sign of important distinction of this sect, they were distin-

guished by the name of the Utraquists, (communicants in both forms) and they were well pleased with this name, as it put them in mind of their privilege so dear to them. But under this name the much stricter sects of the Bohemian and Moravian brethren concealed themselves, who deviated from the reigning Church in more essential points, and had much similarity to the German Protestants. In both sects, the German as well as the Swiss, innovations of religion made a rapid progress, and the name of Utraquists, by which they still knew how to cover their change of principles, guarded them from persecution. At bottom, it was nothing more than the name that they had in common with the Utraquists; they were essentially Protestants.

Full of confidence in their powerful party, and in the tolerance of the emperor, they ventured, under Maximilian's reign, boldly into light with their genuine opinions. They drew up, after the example of the Germans, a confession peculiar to themselves, in which the Lutherans, as well as the Reformers, recognised their opinions, and would have all the privileges of the former Utraquisten Church transferred to this new confession. This demand found an opposition from the Catholic states, and they must be satisfied with the word of assurance only, from the mouth of the emperor. So long as Maximilian lived, they enjoyed a full toleration in their new form;—under his successor the scene changed. An imperial edict appeared, which refused to the before-named Bohemian brethren the freedom of religion. The Bohemian brethren differed in nothing from the rest of the Utraquists: the sentence of their condemnation must affect, in an equal manner, all the Bohemian sects related, in some measure, to one another. On this account, all opposed the imperial man-

date at the diet; but without being able to overthrow it. The emperor and the Catholic states conceived themselves supported by the ancient treaties and the constituted rights of Bohemia, in which, indeed, nothing was yet found for the advantage of a religion which, at that time, had not the voice of the nation in its favour. What a great change had taken place since that period! What then was only an insignificant sect, was now become the ruling Church! and was it any thing else than chichane, to wish to determine the bounds of newly raised religion by old agreements? The Bohemian Protestants referred to the verbal assurance of Maximilian, and to the freedom of religion of the Germans, in which they wished to be assimilated in all points: in vain—they were refused. Thus were affairs in Bohemia, when Matthias, already master of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, appeared at Kollin, to raise the Bohemian Diet also against the emperor, whose embarrassments rose to the extreme.

Deserted by all his remaining hereditary states, he placed his last hopes upon those of Bohemia, which, it was foreseen, would abuse his necessity to accomplish their demands. After so many years absence, he appeared publicly in Prague at the diet; and, to shew the people that he was really still in existence, all the windows of the court passage through which he passed must be opened: proof enough of the extremity to which he was reduced. What he had feared happened: the states, which felt their importance, would not come to an understanding till he had allowed them full security for their state privileges, and freedom of religion.

It was in vain for *him* to creep behind old evasions; the emperor's fate was in their power, and he must comply with necessity. However, this happened only as re-

garded their other demands, he reserved to himself the adjustment of their religious affairs till the next meeting of the diet. The Bohemians now took arms in his defence, and a most sanguinary civil war was about to inflame between both brothers. But Rodolph, who had no greater dread than to remain in this slavish dependence on the states, did not wait for this, but immediately hastened to seek a friendly accommodation with his brother the archduke. He published a formal act of renunciation of what he could no longer take from him, namely, Austria and the kingdom of Hungary, and acknowledged him as his successor to the Bohemian throne. Dearly enough had the emperor paid for withdrawing himself from this difficulty to entangle himself immediately in a new one. The religious concerns of Bohemia were deferred to the next diet. This took place in 1609. They demanded the same freedom of religion as under the former emperor, a consistory of their own, the giving up to them the Academy of Prague, and the permission to appoint defenders or protectors of freedom from amongst themselves.

They received the same answer as at first; the Catholic party had fettered all the resolutions of the timid emperor.

However frequently, and in whatever threatening language, the states renewed their remonstrances, Rodolph persisted upon his first declaration, not to grant any thing beyond the old treaties. The diet separated without coming to any conclusion, and the states, incensed against the emperor, concerted an unauthorized meeting at Prague, to redress themselves. They appeared at Prague in great numbers. The deliberations went on notwithstanding the emperor's interdictions, and almost under his eyes. The condescension which he began to shew, was now a proof

to them how much they were feared, and increased their insolence; but he remained inflexible in the main point. They fulfilled their threats, and came seriously to the resolution, to exercise freely their religion in all places, and to abandon the emperor to his necessities until he had confirmed this arrangement. They went further, and appointed the defenders which the emperor had refused them. Ten from each of the three estates were nominated, and they determined to raise, with the greatest expedition, a military force, of which Count Thurn, the chief promoter of this rebellion, was to be appointed the general.

These serious measures at last brought the emperor to yield, to which, at present, even the Spaniards advised him. Apprehensive that the states, irritated in the highest degree, would throw themselves into the arms of the king of Hungary, he signed the famous letter of majesty of the Bohemians, (in 1609) by which they have justified their sedition under the successors of this emperor. The Bohemian confession, which the states had laid before the Emperor Maximilian, obtained by this letter of majesty quite equal rights with the Catholic Church.

The University of Prague, and a proper consistory, were granted to the Utraquists, as the Bohemian Protestants still continued to call themselves; which consistory is absolutely independent of the archbishop's see, of Prague. All the churches which they, the Utraquists, possessed, at the time of the granting of this letter in towns, villages, and market-places, were to remain to them, and if they were inclined to build new ones beyond that number, the nobility, knights, and towns, had the liberty of doing so. It is this passage in the letter of majesty that afterwards gave rise to the unfortunate dispute which set Europe in

flames. The letter of majesty made the Protestants of Bohemia, in some measure, a republic. The states had learnt to know the strength which they possessed by firmness, union, and harmony, in their measures. Hardly any thing more remained to the emperor than a shadow of his sovereignty; and, by the creation of the pretended protectors of liberty, a most dangerous encouragement was given to the spirit of revolt. The example of Bohemia, and its success, was a stimulus to the rest of the Austrian hereditary states to obtain for themselves the same privileges by similar means.

The spirit of liberty extended itself from one province to another; and, as it was principally the division between the princes of the House of Austria, that the Protestants had been able so fortunately to profit by, they, (the court party,) hastened to effect a reconciliation with the Emperor and the King of Hungary. But this reconciliation could never be sincere: the offence was too grave to expect pardon; and Rodolph continued to nourish in his heart an inextinguishable hatred against Matthias. With sorrow and indignation he dwelt upon the idea that the sceptre would at last fall into such an odious hand; and the prospect was not more consoling to him, even if Matthias died without issue, as then Ferdinand, Archduke of Gratz, became the head of the family whom he equally hated. He resolved to exclude both from the throne of Bohemia, and to make this succession pass upon the head of Ferdinand's brother, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau, whom, of all his descendents, he most loved, and the most deserving person about him to acquire this inheritance. The notions of the Bohemians, as to their free choice of election to the throne, and their inclination for Leopold's person, appeared to favour this project by which Rodolph more

consulted his partiality and revenge, than the interest of his House. But it required a military force to execute this project, which he therefore actually assembled in the Bishopric of Passau. The destination of this corps was unknown; but an unforeseen circumstance, the want of pay, caused an unexpected incursion into Bohemia, without the knowledge of the emperor; and the excesses which it committed there raised the whole of this kingdom against the emperor. He in vain assured the Bohemian States of his innocence; they believed him not; he in vain endeavoured to put an end to the violent and arbitrary acts of his soldiers; they would not hearken to him.

In the persuasion that he had the design of annihilating the letter of majesty, the protectors of freedom armed all Protestant Bohemia, and Matthias was called into the country. After the expulsion of his Passau troops, the emperor remained without aid in Prague, watched as a prisoner in his own castle, and deprived of all his counsellors.

Matthias, in the mean time, made his entry into Prague in the midst of universal rejoicing, where Rodolph was shortly after pusillanimous enough to acknowledge him King of Bohemia, (in 1611.) Fate punished this emperor so severely, that he was obliged to yield his throne, whilst living, to an enemy whom he would not even, at his decease, consent to acknowledge as his successor. To complete his humiliation, his subjects of Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia, obliged him to release them from their oaths of allegiance, by a formal act of renunciation, signed with his own hand; and he executed this act with a mind overwhelmed by grief. All whom he believed the most attached to him, had deserted him. When he had subscribed the act of renunciation, he threw his hat upon the ground

and destroyed the pen that had performed so shameful a service to him. Whilst Rodolph lost his hereditary states one after another, he did not defend his imperial dignity with more success. Each of the religious parties, which divided Germany, continued to make efforts to aggrandize and strengthen itself at the expense of the others, or to defend itself against their attacks. The more feeble the hand that held the imperial sceptre, and the more the Protestants and Catholics felt themselves abandoned, so much the more must their attention be fixed upon one another, and so much the more must the mutual distrust increase. It was sufficient that the emperor allowed himself to be directed by the Jesuits and the Court of Spain, to give the Protestants cause of fear, and a pretext for hostilities.

The inconsiderate zeal of the Jesuits, which spread doubts in writings, and in the pulpits, upon the validity of the peace of religion, added still more to their mistrust, and caused even the most inconsiderate measures of the Catholics to be suspected of guilty intentions. All the acts of the emperor, tending to restrain the reformed religion in his hereditary states, excited the attention of the Protestants of Germany; and this powerful interest that the Protestant subjects of Austria found in their brethren of the same religion in the rest of Germany, or expected to find, was, in a great measure, the cause of their audacity, and of the rapid progress of Matthias. It was believed in the empire, that the long enjoyment of the peace of religion was merely owing to the embarrassment in which the emperor was placed by the interior disturbances in his states, and on this account they were not in any haste to relieve him. Almost all the affairs of the diet were neglected, either from the inattention of the

emperor, or through the fault of the Protestant States, which had resolved not to contribute any thing to the necessities of the empire, till their common grievances were redressed. These grievances were, above all, the bad government of the emperor, the violation of the peace of religion, and the new pretensions formed by the aulic counsellor, who, under this reign, had begun to extend his jurisdiction at the expense of the imperial chamber. Formerly, the emperors decided finally all dissensions which arose between the states; and, what trial by battle could not determine, in less important cases, they decided alone, or they sent the affair to be decided before the imperial judges who followed the court; and in those of importance, they added the princes.—About the end of the fifteenth century, they confided these high judicatory functions to the court of justice at Spire, a tribunal regular and permanent; and the states of the empire, in order to guard themselves against the arbitrary power of the emperors, reserved the right of naming the members thereof, and of even submitting its decrees to a periodical revision. By the peace of religion this right of the states, called the Right of Presentation and Visitation, had been extended to the Lutherans in such a way, that Protestant judges pronounced upon what interested the Protestants, and thus an apparent equality existed between them in the supreme tribunal of the empire. But the enemies of the Reformation, and of the liberty of the states, watchful to seize every circumstance that could favour their designs, soon found the means of destroying the beneficial effects of this institution. A particular tribunal of the emperor, the Aulic Council of Vienna, whose primitive functions consisted in assisting the emperor in the exercise of his personal and acknowledged rights;—a tribunal, whose mem-

bers were named and paid by him, took for the sole rule of their decisions, the advantage of their master, and that of the Catholic religion, which they professed; and exercised the supreme right of pronouncing upon the interests of the states of the empire.

It was before this council that many of the differences between the states of contrary religions were now carried, differences which the imperial chamber only should decide upon, and which, before its establishment, had been determined belonged to the council of princes. It is not, therefore, astonishing, if the sentences emanating from this court betrayed their source, if the justice rendered by Catholic judges, creatures of the emperor, was sacrificed to the interest of the Catholic religion and the chief head of the empire. Although all the German states appeared to have the same reasons, for quickly opposing so dangerous an abuse, the Protestants more particularly aggrieved, presented themselves alone, and even not the whole of them, as the defenders of the German liberties, which such an institution wounded in its most sacred right, the exercise of justice. In truth, Germany had little reason to rejoice in the abolition of the strongest, and of the establishment of an imperial chamber, if, by the side of the latter, they saw erected another despotical jurisdiction, entirely devoted to the emperor. The states of Germany had gained but little, in comparison of the barbarous times, if the imperial chamber in which they sat with the emperor, and which ought to replace the ancient trial by battle, ceased to perform its necessary office. But at this epoch, men's minds displayed the most singular contradictions. To the title of emperor, that ancient despotic Rome had bequeathed, a certain idea of absolute power was still attached, which contrasted itself in a ridiculous

manner with the rest of the political system of Germany; however, it was not the less actively defended by the lawyers, propagated by the partisans of despotism, and adopted as true by weak minds. To these universal subjects of complaint, a train of circumstances was joined by degrees, which terminated by carrying the apprehensions of the Protestants to the highest degree of mistrust. During the Spanish persecution of religion in the Netherlands, some Protestant families had taken refuge in the imperial Catholic City of Aix-la-Chapelle, where they established themselves and imperceptibly increased their influence. After having succeeded, by stratagem, in obtaining seats in the council of the city for some members of their religion, they demanded a Church of their own, with the liberty of celebrating the Protestant religion: upon the refusal of this demand, they, together with the magistracy of the city, procured by force their aim. To see so considerable a city in the hands of the Protestants, was too violent a blow for the emperor and the whole Catholic party. After all imperial remonstrances and commands to re-establish the ancient state of things in this city had failed, the imperial council declared the town in the ban of the empire; but which sentence was not executed till the following reign. Two other attempts, which the Protestants made to extend their jurisdiction and their power, were of a much higher importance. The elector of Cologne, Gebhard, born Truchess of Valdburg, had conceived a violent passion for the young countess, Agnes of Mansfeldt, canoness of Girrisheim, to which she had not been insensible. As all Germany had their eyes fixed upon this intrigue, the countess's two brothers, ardent Calvinists, demanded satisfaction for the dishonour done to their House; but this reparation could not take place

by marriage, whilst the elector remained a Catholic bishop. They threatened to extinguish in his blood, and in that of their sister, the disgrace of their house, if he did not either immediately cease all connexion with her, or redeem her honour at the altar. The elector, indifferent to all the consequences of this measure, listened only to the voice of love. Whether he was before disposed to embrace the reform, or whether the charms of the countess effected the miracle,—he abjured the Catholic religion, and conducted the beautiful Agnes to the altar.

The event was of the highest importance. According to the terms of the ecclesiastical reserve, the elector had lost, by his apostacy, all his rights to his bishopric; and, if there existed a case in which the Catholics had an interest in executing the reserve, it was especially when it appertained to an electorate. On the other side, the renunciation of the sovereign power was a painful determination, and, above all, for so affectionate a spouse, who had so high a desire to enhance the value of his heart and his hand by the gift of a principality. Besides, the ecclesiastical reserve was one of the articles the most contested at the peace of Augsburg; and it appeared extremely important to all the Protestants of Germany, to wrest this fourth electorate from the Catholic party. Similar acts were already not without example; the ecclesiastical establishment of lower Germany already furnished many which had been fortunately executed. Several of the canons of Cologne were already Protestants, and were for the elector; in the city itself, he could depend upon a strong Protestant faction. All these motives, to which were joined the encouragements of his relations and friends, and the promises of several courts of Germany still added more strength, determined him, the elector, to preserve his bishopric,

notwithstanding his change of religion. But it was soon perceived, that he had engaged in a struggle superior to his strength. Already the free exercise of the Protestant religion, in the electorate of Cologne, had experienced the most violent opposition on the part of the Catholic states and the canons. The intervention of the emperor, and an anathema from Rome, which declared him an apostate, and despoiled him of all his ecclesiastical, as well as his temporal dignities, armed his states and his chapter against him.

The elector assembled an army, the canons likewise did the same. The latter, to promptly assure themselves of the support of a powerful arm, hastened to the election of a new elector, which was decided in favour of the Bishop of Liege, a Bavarian prince.—A civil war now commenced, which, considering the great interest that the two religious parties of Germany took in this event, might easily terminate by a general rupture of the peace of the empire. The Protestants were, above all, indignant, that the Pope had dared, of his own apostolic authority, to deprive a prince of the empire of his imperial dignities. This right had been refused to the Popes, even in the golden days of their spiritual power; how much more so, then, in an age when his authority was entirely lost with some, and when it was supported upon very weak basis by others? All the Protestant courts of Germany energetically espoused this quarrel. Henry the Fourth, King of France, then King of Navarre, left no manner of negociations untried, to stimulate the German princes to defend their rights. The event was decisive for the liberty of Germany. Four Protestant against three Catholic voices, in the college of electors, must incline the superiority of power to the Pro-

testants, and for ever exclude the Austrian House from the imperial throne.

But the elector, Gebhard, had embraced the reformed and not the Lutheran religion; this only circumstance caused his misfortune. The reciprocal hatred which animated these two Churches, did not permit the Lutheran states to consider the elector as one of their party, and as such, to support him with energy. All had, indeed, sought to inspire him with courage, and had promised him assistance; but only an appanaged Prince of the Palatine House, the count Palatine, John Casimer, a zealous Calvinist, kept his word. Notwithstanding the imperial prohibition, he hastened with his small army into the territory of Cologne: however, he performed nothing of importance, because the elector, pressed by his own necessities, left him entirely without succour. The new-chosen elector, strongly supported by his Bavarian relations, and by the Spaniards from the Netherlands, soon made rapid progress. Gebhard's troops, not receiving any pay from their master, gave up one place after another to the enemy; others were obliged to capitulate. Gebhard maintained himself still for some time in his Westphalian lands, till he was at length compelled to yield to superior forces. After having made many useless efforts in Holland, as also in England, to effect his restoration, he retired into the Abbey of Strasburg, and died dean of that cathedral, the first victim of the ecclesiastical reservation, or rather of the want of harmony among the Protestants of Germany.

To this Cologne quarrel another was soon added at Strasburg. Many Protestant canons from Cologne, who were also included in the Papal anathema with the elector, had taken refuge in the bishopric of Strasburg, where

they likewise possessed prebends. The Catholic canons of Strasburg not acknowledging them as lawful, would not permit them the enjoyment of their prebends; in consequence they arbitrarily and violently took possession of them, and a more powerful party of Protestants, among the citizens of Strasburg, soon assured them the superiority over their adversaries in the chapter. The Catholic canons took refuge at Alsace-Sauverne, where they continued their chapter under the protection of their bishop, as the only lawful one, and declared that of Strasburg spurious. In the mean time the canons of the latter were so re-enforced by the admission of many Protestant members of a distinguished rank, that after the decease of their bishop, they took upon themselves to elect a new Protestant bishop in the person of John George, of Brandenburg. The Catholic canons, very far from approving of this election, postulated the Bishop of Metz, a prince of Lorraine, to this dignity, who immediately signalized his elevation by hostilities upon the territories of Strasburg. As the city of Strasburg armed itself for the Protestant chapter and the princes of Brandenburg, the opposite party, aided by the troops of Lorraine, sought to obtain possession of the effects of the church; this produced a tedious war, which, after the manner of the times, was accompanied by the most frightful devastation. In vain the emperor endeavoured to interpose his authority to terminate this difference: the possessions of both chapters yet remained a long time divided between the two parties, till at length the Protestant prince renounced his pretensions for a moderate equivalent in money, and thus the Catholic Church again triumphed! Still much more prejudicial for all Protestant Germany was an event which took place soon after the arrangement of the former conten-

tion at Donauwerth, an imperial city of Swabia. In this city, formerly Catholic, the Protestant party had obtained such a preponderance during the reign of Ferdinand and his son, that the Catholic inhabitants were obliged to content themselves with a chapel of ease, in the monastery of the holy cross, and even to conceal from the jealous humour of their rivals, the Protestants, the most of their religious ceremonies.

At length, a fanatical abbot of this cloister ventured, in opposition to the people, to make a public procession with the cross, and flying banners at its head; but they soon obliged him to abandon his design. As this same abbot, encouraged by a favourable declaration of the emperor, ventured a year after to renew the same procession, they proceeded to public violence. The fanatical populace shut the gate of the church against the religious friars upon their return, threw down their banners, and accompanied them home in the midst of cries and insults. An imperial citation was the natural consequence of these violences; and as the irritated people refused all amicable means that were employed to pacify them, and even threatened to lay hands upon the emperor's commissaries, it followed eventually that the town was put to the ban of the empire in due form, which sentence the Archduke of Bavaria was charged to execute. At the approach of the Bavarian army, the citizens, hitherto so bold, were seized with a panic, and they laid down their arms without opposition. The total abolition of the Protestant religion, within their walls, was the punishment of their crime. Donauwerth lost its privileges; and, from being a free imperial town of Swabia, it became a municipal town of Bavaria. Two circumstances accompanied this event which must necessarily excite the greatest attention of the Protestants,

had even the interest of religion been less powerful with them. The aulic council, an arbitrary and entirely Catholic tribunal, the jurisdiction of which they violently contested, had pronounced the sentence; and it was the Duke of Bavaria, the chief of another circle, who had been chosen to execute it. An act so contrary to the constitution of the empire made them suspect, on the part of the Catholics, other violent measures which might be deliberated upon in secret to support a dangerous plan, which might end in the entire destruction of the Protestant religion.

In circumstances where strength prevails over justice, and where security depends upon strength, the weaker side is almost always the most eager to provide for its own defence. This was now the case in Germany. If the Catholics had really meditated some serious enterprise against the Protestants, it was, according to the most probable calculations, in the south, rather than in the north, of Germany, that the first blow would be struck, because the Protestants in lower Germany possessed long tracts of country, adjoining states, allied together, and could therefore the more easily support each other; in upper Germany, however, they were separated from each other, and, surrounded on all sides by Catholic states, were open to the first irruption. If further, as it was to be apprehended, the Catholics would take advantage of the interior divisions of the Protestants, and attack separately either of the two parties of which they were composed; the Calvinists, as the weakest, and as, besides, they were not included in the religious peace, appeared to be in the more immediate danger, and upon them must the first blow fall. Both these circumstances took place in the Palatinate, which had a very dangerous neigh-

bour in the Duke of Bavaria, and on account of its return to Calvanism, was excluded from the benefit of the Peace of Religion, and had little hope of assistance from the Lutheran States. No country of Germany had in so short a time experienced such rapid changes of religion, as the Palatinate at this period. In the short space of sixty years this country was seen the sorrowful sport of its Sovereign Rulers, twice to embrace the religion of Luther, and twice to abandon it for that of Calvin. The Elector, Frederic the Third, had been the first unfaithful to the Confession of Augsburg, which his eldest son and successor, Lewis, soon re-established, and even employed violence to make it the predominant Religion of his States. He took the churches from the Calvinists, throughout their whole country, the ministers and even the professors of their religion were expelled beyond the frontiers; and this zealous Lutheran pursued them even in his testament, in as much as he named for tutors to his sons those only who were orthodox Lutherans. But this unjust testament remained without effect; Count Palatine, John Casimer, his brother, by virtue of the golden bull, undertook the guardianship of his sons, and the entire government of the country.—Calvinist instructors were appointed to the Elector, (Frederic the Fourth) then only nine years of age, and they were ordered to extirpate from the mind of their pupil all Lutheran heresy, if necessary, even by means of personal chastisement.—If they acted thus towards the sovereign, it is easy to see what treatment the subjects were likely to meet with. It was under this Frederic the Fourth, that the Palatine Court was the most occupied in uniting the different Protestant states of Germany, and in endeavouring to form them into a confederacy against the House of Austria.—Besides that this Court

was directed by French counsels, which were always animated with hatred against Austria;—the care for his own security against a near and superior enemy, obliged him to assure himself in time of the doubtful protection of the Lutheran states.—Great difficulties were in the way of this confederacy; because the aversion of the Lutherans to the Calvinists was scarcely less than their common hatred to the Papists.

They therefore sought first of all to unite the Religions, in order to facilitate the political union: but all these endeavours failed, and had no other result than that of confirming the more, both sects in their respective opinions. No other means remained than to augment the fear and mistrust of the Lutherans, and thereby to make them feel the necessity of such a confederacy.—They magnified the power of the Catholics, and exaggerated the danger; accidental events were attributed to a concerted plan, innocent actions, by over cautious constructions, were misrepresented, and the whole conduct of the Catholics was ascribed to a systematic plan of hostility, of which the latter did not probably entertain an idea. The diet of Ratisbon, in which the Protestants hoped to obtain a renewal of the Religious Treaty, was dissolved without effecting any thing; and the recent oppression of the Protestants at Donauwerth added still more to their former grievances. All at once this so long sought for confederacy took place. At Anhausen, in Franconia, (in 1608) the Elector Palatine, Frederic the Fourth, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, two Margraves of Brandenburg, the Margrave of Baden, and John Frederic, Duke of Wirtemberg, Lutherans with Calvinists—concluded for themselves and their heirs a close confederacy, known under the name of the Evangelical Union. The spirit of this Union was, that the

united Princes mutually engaged to defend each other in every thing that affected religious concerns and their civil rights, as well by counsels as by arms, against every aggressor; that they should all be determinedly united, and that if the territories of either of the members were invaded, all the others were to hasten immediately to his succour; that in case of necessity, the cities and castles of all of them should be open to his troops.—Whatever conquests were made should be divided among the Members of the Union, in proportion to the quota furnished by each. The direction of the whole confederacy was confided during the peace to the Elector Palatine, yet with restrictions, to provide first for the necessary expence and to form a fund for such purpose. The difference of Religion (between the Lutherans and Calvinists,) was to have no manner of influence upon the union; the duration of which was fixed for ten years. Each Member of the Union had at the same time contracted the obligation of procuring new confederates. The Elector of Brandenburg readily entered into it; the Elector of Saxony disapproved of the alliance. The Elector of Hesse could not be prevailed upon to declare himself; the Dukes of Brunswick and of Lunenburg equally hesitated. But the three Imperial cities of Strasburg, Nuremburg, and Ulm, were no unimportant acquisition for the league, because they had a pressing necessity for their money, and because their example might be followed by many other Imperial cities. These united states, when separated, timid and little feared; after their firm union, assumed a bolder language. They directed Prince Christian of Anhalt to lay their common grievances and claims before the Emperor; which principally consisted in the re-establishment of Donauwerth in its ancient rights, the abolition of the prosecution of the

Imperial Chamber, the reform of the Emperor's own government, and the conduct of his counsellors. They had chosen to make these demands, at the moment when the Emperor had scarcely recovered from the troubles of his hereditary dominions; when in short he had lost to Matthias, Austria, and Hungary; and when he had hardly saved his Bohemian states by the concession of the letter of majesty, when, finally by the succession of Juliers, he was menaced with a new war. It was not therefore surprising that this Prince, naturally slow, was even now less active than ever, and that the union had taken up arms sooner than the Emperor had foreseen.

The Catholics viewed the union with a suspicious eye: the latter were alike mistrustful of the Catholics and the emperor: the emperor mistrusted both, and on all sides fear and animosity were carried to the uttermost. And it was precisely at this critical period that the death of John William, Duke of Juliers, happened, which made an opening for a strong contest for the succession of Cleves and Juliers. Eight competitors laid claim to this inheritance, which previous solemn treaties had determined should never be divided; and the emperor, who shewed the inclination to claim it as a vacated fief of the empire, might be considered the ninth.

Four of these, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, the Count Palatine of Deuxponts, and the Margrave of Burgau, an Austrian prince, claimed it as a female fief in the name of four princesses, sisters of the deceased duke. Two others, the Elector of Saxony, of the line of Albert, and the Duke of Saxony, of the line of Ernest, urged a prior right, which had been assured to their houses by the emperor Frederic the Third, and con-

firmed by the emperor Maximilian. The claims of some foreign princes were not regarded.

The best founded right was perhaps on the side of the Houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg, and both appeared equally favoured by circumstances. Thus, after the opening of the succession, both these courts immediately took possession of the dutchy; that of Brandenburg began first, and Neuburg followed. Both commenced their contention with the pen, and would probably have ended it with the sword, but the interference of the emperor to bring this suit under his own decision, while in the mean time he wished to sequester the lands in dispute, brought both contending parties to a quick reconciliation, in order to avert the common danger. They agreed to govern the dutchy between them. The emperor, in vain, summoned the states of the country, and desired them to refuse taking the oath of fidelity to their new masters;—in vain he sent his own relation, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau and Strasburg, into the country to encourage the Imperial party by his presence. The whole country, excepting the city of Juliers, had submitted to the Protestant princes, and the emperor's party were besieged in this capital. The Julian contention was of great importance to the whole of the German empire, and even excited the attention of several European courts. The question was not so much who should or who should not possess the Dutchy of Juliers, as to determine which of the two parties in Germany, the Catholic or the Protestant, should obtain the superiority by the acquisition of so considerable a country? Which of the two religions should acquire or lose this country? The question was, whether the house of Austria should again succeed in its pretensions, and whether its ambition was to be sated with new spoils, or if, on the

contrary, the liberty of Germany and the balance of power were to be maintained against the pretensions of Austria? The contest respecting the Julian succession then interested all states which favoured the liberties of the people and were hostile to Austria. The Evangelical Union, Holland, England, and principally Henry the Fourth, King of France, were drawn into this quarrel. This monarch, who had lost the best part of his life in combating Spain and the House of Austria, whose long heroical efforts had been able at length to make him surmount the numerous obstacles which this house placed between him and the throne of France, had not remained till now an idle spectator of the troubles in Germany. This very struggle of the states with the emperor gave and secured peace to France. The Protestants and the Turks were the two salutary weights which kept down the Austrian power in the east and in the west, but it would rise more formidable than ever as soon as they permitted it to be disengaged from this restraint.

Henry the Fourth had for nearly half a century seen the House of Austria exercise an ambition for power and conquests that no obstacle could abate, and which the absence of genius even, that ordinarily tempers all the other passions, could not extinguish in a heart in which flowed a drop of the blood of Ferdinand of Arragon. The Austrian passion for aggrandizement had deprived Europe for a century of the happy peace which it enjoyed, and caused violent revolutions in the interior of its principal states. It had carried away the husbandmen from the fields, the artists from the workshops, to spread immense armies over Europe, and to cover the seas destined to commerce with the enemies' fleets. It had imposed upon all the princes of Europe the necessity of taxing their la-

borious subjects with extraordinary imposts, till then unheard of, and of employing all their substance for the necessary defence of their states, lost from that time for the happiness of their subjects. There was no peace for Europe, no prosperity for its states, no durable plan for the welfare of their people, so long as this dangerous House had the power at its will of troubling the peace of this part of the globe. Such were the thoughts that clouded the mind of Henry the Fourth at the end of his glorious career. What pains had it cost him to restore order from the chaos it was in, and to terminate those long and terrible civil wars, kindled and continued in France by the intrigues of Austria!

Every great man wishes to labour for posterity;—and who could guarantee to this monarch the continuance of the happy situation in which he left France, so long as Austria and Spain remained united, for the present indeed enfeebled, but which the least success could restore and quickly unite in one common interest, and make them more formidable than ever? If he wished to leave a secure throne to his successor, and a durable peace to his people, this dangerous power must be for ever disarmed.—From this source flowed the implacable hatred which Henry the Fourth had vowed against Austria—unextinguishable, ardent, and just, as that of Hannibal against the Roman people; but more noble in its principle.

All the powers of Europe were animated by the same motives as Henry; but all had not this enlightened policy, the noble and disinterested courage which animated him. Men in general are captivated by present advantages, great minds only are excited by distant prospects.

So long as wisdom in her purposes reckons upon nothing but wisdom, or reposes in her own strength, she forms

but chimerical plans, and runs the risk of exciting only universal ridicule;—but, whenever in her vast conceptions she can admit barbarity, cupidity, and superstition, to play a part, and circumstances favour her sufficiently even to make human passions the executors of her grand designs, then she is sure of ultimate success, and may reckon upon the admiration and applause of mankind.

In the first consideration, the understood project of Henry the Fourth to deprive the House of Austria of all its possessions, and to divide her spoils with the powers of Europe, actually merited the name of chimerical, which mankind are in general so liberal in bestowing: but did it merit this appellation in the second?

It had never come into the mind of this most excellent monarch, that he would find in the co-operators of his enterprize the same motives which directed himself, as well as his minister Sully. All the powers that were about to engage were determined by the strongest motives, the most proper to put a political body in action. They only asked of the Protestants of Austria that which appeared till now to be the aim of all their efforts, their shaking off the Austrian yoke, and of the inhabitants of the Netherlands nothing but a similar defection from Spain. Nothing was more important to the pope and to the republics of Italy than to see the peninsula for ever delivered from Spanish tyranny; nothing could be more desirable to England than a revolution which would deliver her from her most bitter enemy. Each power gained something by the division of the Austrian spoils, either territory or freedom, new properties or guarantees for the ancient; and, as all gained, so was the balance of power still kept up. France could magnanimously renounce all share of the booty, because she doubly profited by the fall of the House of

Austria, and besides, because she was so much the stronger the less she aggrandized herself. Finally, to recompense the House of Hapsburg for freeing Europe of its presence, they would grant it the liberty of extending itself in all other worlds, discovered or to be discovered. The knife of Ravaillac saved the House of Austria, and retarded for some centuries the repose of Europe. Attentive to this plan, Henry the Fourth must consider the Evangelical Union and the succession of Juliers of the highest importance, and take a most active interest therein. His negociators were busy in all the Protestant courts of Germany, and the little which they disclosed of the grand political secret of their monarch, or what they made them suspect, was sufficient to gain the minds of those who harboured a violent hatred against Austria, and who were besides so violently influenced by the spirit of aggrandizement. Henry's political efforts cemented the union yet more closely, and the powerful assistance, which he engaged himself to give, elevated the confidence of the Union to the highest degree. A numerous French army, commanded by the king in person, was to join the troops of the Union upon the Rhine, and first aid it in terminating the conquest of the countries of Cleves and of Juliers; re-united to the German troops, it should at length march into Italy, (where Savoy, Venice, and the Pope, expected it with powerful reenforcements,) there to subvert all the thrones of the House of Spain. This victorious army was then to penetrate by Lombardy into the hereditary states of Austria, and there, favoured by a general rising of the Protestants, destroy the Austrian power in all the states of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania. During these operations, the people of Brabant and Holland, assisted by the French, might likewise free themselves from the tyrannical yoke of Spain;

and thus this furious torrent which had overflown its banks, and shortly before threatened to bury the liberties of Europe in its vortex, should then silently retire and be forgotten behind the Pyreneean mountains. The French formerly boasted of their celerity; but this time they were surpassed by the Germans. Henry had not yet appeared in Alsace, and already an army of the union had beaten and dispersed an Austrian corps which the Bishop of Strasburg and Passau had collected, to conduct into the country of Juliers.

Henry the Fourth had conceived his plan, both as a statesman and a king; but he had confided the execution of it to robbers. According to his opinion, it was necessary to avoid giving the Catholic States reason to believe that they were the aim of these preparations, and that they might not side with Austria, religion should not be mixed, under any pretext whatever, with this enterprise. But how could the German Princes forget their own particular views—only to occupy themselves with the plans of Henry? Animated by the desire of aggrandizement and religious animosity, how could they sacrifice their ruling passions to hearken only to the voice of wisdom and of moderation? They fell like birds of prey upon the states of the ecclesiastical princes, and encamped in these rich countries, notwithstanding the difficulties of arriving in them. They raised contributions in them as if in enemies' countries; arbitrarily seized the revenues of the states, and took by force what they were not inclined to give freely. Not to leave the Catholics uncertain, as to the true motives of their armament, they haughtily announced the fate that was reserved for the Catholic endowments.

So little had Henry the Fourth and the German Princes

understood each other in their plan of operations, so much was this excellent king deceived in the instruments he employed. It is an observation confirmed by experience, that an act of violence directed by wisdom, should never be left to the violent to enforce; and that the infringement of good order should only be entrusted to those who hold it sacred. The conduct of the Union, resented even by many of the Protestant states, and the apprehension which the Catholics had of experiencing yet worse treatment, excited in the last more than an idle indignation. The emperor's authority was too much fallen to protect them against such an enemy. It was the union of the confederates that rendered them so formidable and daring: an alliance must, therefore, be opposed to this union. The Bishop of Wurtsburg contrived the plan of this Catholic union, which was distinguished from that of the Protestants by the name of the League. The points upon which they were agreed were nearly the same as those of the Evangelical Union; the most part of its members were bishops; the Duke Maximilian of Bavaria placed himself at its head; but as the only important secular member, he was invested with a much greater authority than was granted by the Union to their chief. Besides this circumstance, he was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of the League, which gave to his operations a promptitude and vigour that those of the Union could not have; the League had likewise the advantage of receiving the succours of money which its rich Catholic prelates supplied more regularly than the Union were enabled to do from their poor Protestant adherents.

Without proposing to the emperor to make a part of their alliance, as a Catholic prince, without rendering any account to him of its operations, as head of the empire, the League formed itself all at once unexpectedly, and

with threatening aspect sufficiently strong, finally to destroy the Union, and to maintain itself under three emperors. The League combated, it is true, for Austria, because it was armed against the Protestant princes; but Austria must soon tremble before it. In the mean time, the arms of the Union had been tolerably fortunate in the countries of Juliers and Alsace; Juliers was closely blockaded, and all the Bishopric of Strasburg was in their power. Their brilliant atchievements were now, however, at an end. No French army appeared on the Rhine; for he who was to command it, and who was to be the soul of the whole enterprise,—Henry the Fourth,—was no more. Their money was exhausted; the states refused to give further supplies, and the imperial cities, members of the Union, were offended that their money was always demanded, but never their advice. But that which particularly irritated them, was to see themselves drawn into expenses on account of the disputed succession of Juliers which was expressly excluded from the affairs of the Union; that the princes of the Union appropriated great pensions to themselves from the common fund, and especially because they would render no account of the employment of the money. The Union therefore tended towards its fall at the moment when the league, with accumulated strength, opposed it. The absolute want of money did not permit the troops of the Union any longer to keep the field; and, yet it was dangerous to lay down their arms in presence of an enemy ready to combat them. To make themselves more secure at least on one side, they hastened to treat with the Archduke Leopold, the most ancient enemy of the Protestants, and through him both parties agreed to withdraw their troops from Alsace, to release the prisoners, and to bury the past in oblivion. Thus was reduced to a mere

nothing, this armament which promised so much. The League soon employed the same imperious language towards the Union and its army, which the Union itself, when confident in its strength, had formerly employed against the Catholics of Germany. They shewed to them the traces of their footsteps, and branded them with the most odious denominations, which they deserved.

The Abbeys of Wurtzburg, Bamberg, Strasburg, Mayence, Treves, Cologne, and many others, had experienced their devastating presence. All these were to be indemnified for their losses, and the free navigation of the Rhine, which the Union had made itself master of, was to be restored to its former footing. But, above all, they demanded from the members of the Union a precise and full declaration of what was the aim of their alliance.

It was now the Union's turn to yield to superior force. They were not prepared against so strong an enemy; but they had themselves discovered to the Catholics the secret of their strength. Indeed it wounded their pride, to be obliged to sue for peace; but they ought to esteem themselves happy to obtain it. The one party promised indemnities, the other pardon. All laid down their arms.

The threatening storm disappeared once more, and a short interval of repose followed.

The insurrection in Bohemia now broke out, which cost the emperor the last of his hereditary states; but neither the Union nor the League had any share in this Bohemian contention. At length the emperor died, (1612) and was as little regretted in his grave, as he was respected on the throne; however, when long after the misfortunes of the following reigns had made those of his own forgotten, a ray of glory encircled his memory, and the horrible night, which now extended itself over all Ger-

many, made this monarch deeply regretted, and with tears of sincere sorrow they wished him still in existence. They had never been able to prevail upon Rodolph to nominate his successor, and all therefore expected with anxiety the approaching vacancy to the imperial throne, notwithstanding, against all expectation, Matthias succeeded to it immediately, and with the greatest facility. The Catholics gave him their suffrages, because they had conceived the highest hopes of his activity; the Protestants followed their example, because they expected every thing from his weakness. It is not difficult to explain this apparent contradiction. The confidence of the Catholics depended upon that which Matthias had already done: that of the Protestants upon what they thought him capable of doing. The epoch of a new succession to the throne is always that of the most ardent hopes; the first Diet of a king in an elective monarchy is generally his severest proof. All ancient grievances are brought forward, and new ones are sought for to aid in obtaining the desired reform. An entire new order of things is expected to begin with the new reign. The Protestants of Germany preserved a strong remembrance of the great services that their brethren of Germany had rendered to Matthias during his revolt; and it was above all the manner, in which they had been recompensed, which must now serve them as a model.

By his favouring the Protestant states of Austria and Moravia, Matthias had endeavoured to ascend his brother's throne, and had actually obtained it; but led away by his ambitious projects, he had not reflected, that he had by this means opened the way to the states to dictate the law to him.

He soon made this discovery, and it abated the exaltation of mind into which success had betrayed him. He had hardly returned triumphant from his Bohemian expedition to his Imperial states, when they waited upon him with a very humble message, which was sufficient to disgust him in all his triumph. They demanded, before they would take the oath of allegiance to him, an unbounded freedom of religion both in the cities and market-towns, a perfect equality of all rights between the Catholics and Protestants, and an equal right to the last of being called conjointly with the Catholics to all offices in the state. They arrogated to themselves this liberty in many places; and, in full confidence of the change of government, they had arbitrary re-established the Protestant worship, where the emperor had suppressed it. Matthias, in truth, had not disdained to profit of the grievances of the Protestants against the emperor Rodolph; but it had never entered into his mind to exalt that sect.

By a firm and decided tone he hoped at once to set down these pretensions. He spoke of his hereditary claims upon the country, and would listen to no conditions before the oath of allegiance was taken.

Their neighbours, the states of Stiria, had taken such an unconditional oath to the Archduke Ferdinand; but they soon had cause to repent it. Warned by this example, the states of Austria persisted in their refusal; and, even to avoid being compelled to the oath of allegiance, they forthwith left the capital, invited the Catholic States to a similar resistance, and began to raise troops. They took measures to renew their ancient alliance with Hungary, they drew the Protestant Princes into their interest, and made the most serious disposition, to support their enterprise by arms.

Matthias had made no difficulty to satisfy the much more extensive demands of the Hungarians.

But Hungary was an elective kingdom, and the republican constitution of this country justified in his eyes the pretensions of the states, as also his condescension towards them, in the eyes of all his Catholic subjects. In Austria, on the contrary, his predecessors had exercised much more extensive rights of sovereignty, which he could not abandon without dishonouring himself in the eyes of all Catholic Europe, without drawing upon himself the contempt of Spain and Rome, and also that of his own Catholic subjects. His counsellors, firm Catholics, amongst whom was the Bishop of Vienna, Melchior Kiesel, who particularly governed him, encouraged him to take by force all the churches from the Protestants, rather than permit them legally to hold one.

But most unfortunately it happened that all these events took place at a time when the emperor Rodolph still lived, and was a spectator of the scene—when he therefore could easily employ against his brother, the same arms with which he had overthrown him, namely, an understanding with his rebellious subjects.

To escape this danger, Matthias accepted with readiness the proposition of the states of Moravia, who offered themselves as mediators, between him and the states of Austria. A committee of both nations assembled in Vienna, where the Austrian deputies made a speech, that would have caused surprise even in the free parliament of England.

It was said at the conclusion, "That the Protestants "would not be treated with less regard in their country, "than the handful of Catholics who were there. That it "was by the assistance of the Protestant nobles Matthias

"had constrained the emperor to yield; where eighty Pa-
"pists were found, three hundred Protestant Barons
"might be reckoned. That Rodolph's example
"should be a warning to Matthias. He ought to take
"care not to lose his terrestrial domains, in striving to
"make converts for Heaven." As the states of Moravia, instead of fulfilling their office of mediators to the advantage of Matthias, joined themselves at last to the Austrian Protestant party; and as the union in Germany most strongly declared for them, and from the fear of reprisals which he had to expect on the part of the emperor, he was at last compelled to make the desired declaration in favour of the Protestants. The states of the empire then took, as a model of their conduct towards their emperor, that of the states of Austria towards their archduke, and they promised to themselves an equally happy result.

At his first Diet at Ratisbon (in 1613), the Protestants surprised him with an entirely new demand, when the most urgent affairs waited for decision, when a war against the Turks and Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, who had, in the mean time, with the Turkish assistance made himself master of this country, and threatened even Hungary, made a general supply of money necessary.

The Catholic voices were still always the most numerous in the Princes' College; and as all was decided by the majority of votes, it so happened, that the Protestants, however firmly united among themselves, were generally of no weight there.

They demanded that the Catholics should now renounce this advantage, and that no religious party should in future be permitted to overpower the voices of the other by their invariable plurality, and in truth, if the Protestant religion was to be represented in the Diet, it appeared but natural,

that the constitution of the Diet should not deprive them of the possibility of making a fair use of this right. This demand was accompanied by complaints upon the usurped jurisdiction of the Aulic council, and the oppression of the Protestants; and the deputies of the states received orders to absent themselves from all deliberations, in common, until a favourable answer upon these preliminary points was obtained.

This division, so dangerous, paralyzed the operations of the Diet, and threatened to destroy for ever the unity of their deliberations. However sincerely the emperor wished after the example of Maximilian, his father, wisely to hold the balance between the two religions, the conduct of the Protestants at this moment left him only a difficult choice between both. His pressing necessities rendered the general concurrence of the states of the empire indispensable to him; and yet he could not attach one party to him, without losing the support of the other. Seeing himself so little secure in his own states, the mere idea of an open war with the Protestants must already make him tremble. But the eyes of the entire Catholic world which were fixed upon his resolutions, the representations of the Catholic states, those of the courts of Rome and Spain, permitted him just as little to favour the Protestants to the disadvantage of the Catholic religion. A situation so critical would have cast down a much greater genius than that of Matthias, and he could hardly with his own prudence have drawn himself out of it. The interest of the Catholics was however united, in the strongest manner, with the authority of the emperor; and if they permitted this authority to fall, the ecclesiastical princes in particular would no longer have any protection against the encroachments of the Protestants. Now, therefore, when they

saw the emperor wavering undeterminedly, they thought there was no time to lose, to raise his drooping courage. They gave him a glance into the secret of the League, and shewed him the whole constitution thereof, their resources and their strength. Discouraging as this discovery might be to the emperor, yet the prospect of so powerful a support animated his courage against the Protestants. All their demands were rejected, and the Diet terminated without any decision. But Matthias was the victim of this quarrel. The Protestants refused him their subsidies, and made him feel the inflexibility of the Catholics. However, the Turks themselves appeared disposed to prolong the armistice, and the prince Bethlen Gabor was left in quiet possession of Transylvania. The empire was now secure from foreign attacks, and, notwithstanding the dangerous divisions in its interior, it still enjoyed peace. A very unexpected accident gave to the contest respecting the Julian succession a surprising turn. This electorate was still possessed in common by the elector of Brandenburg and the count Palatine of Neuburg, a marriage between the prince of Neuburg and a princess of Brandenburg was to unite in an indissoluble manner the interests of both houses. A box on the ear which the elector of Brandenburg had the misfortune to give his son-in-law, in a moment of intoxication, destroyed the whole of this plan. From this period the good understanding vanished between both houses. The prince of Neuburg threw himself into the arms of the Catholics. A princess of Bavaria was the reward of this apostacy, and the powerful protection of Bavaria and Spain was the natural consequence of both these events. To assure the count Palatine of the exclusive possession of the duchy of Juliers, the Spanish troops which were in the Netherlands marched

thither. The elector of Brandenburg, to free himself of these guests, called the Hollanders into the country, whom he sought to attach to him, by embracing the reformed religion. Both the Spanish and Dutch troops appeared; but, as it was soon perceived, only to make conquests for themselves.

The war in the Netherlands it now seemed would be decided upon the German territory, and what inexhaustible materials were here prepared for it! The Protestants saw with terror the Spanish army take firm footing upon the lower Rhine,—and not with less alarm did the Catholics see the Dutch break in upon the Imperial territories.

It was in the west that the mine should explode, which had already so long undermined the whole of Germany,—to the western parts were all the fears and expectations directed,—but from the east came the blow which set it on fire.

The repose which Rodolph the Second had procured to Bohemia, by the letter of majesty, lasted some time longer under the reign of Matthias, and even until the election of a successor to this crown, in the person of Ferdinand of Gratz. This prince, who will be better known in the sequel by the name of Ferdinand the Second, had announced himself as the most zealous defender of the Roman Church, by violently extirpating the Protestant religion in his hereditary states; and was, on this account, considered by the Catholics of the Bohemian nation, as the future support of their religion. The infirm health of the emperor hastened this epoch, and in confidence of so powerful a protector, the Catholics of Bohemia began to treat the Protestants with less regard. The Protestant subjects of Catholic princes especially experienced the hardest treatment. At the same time, many of the Catholics had

even the imprudence to speak openly of their hopes, and through some threatening words to the Protestants, awakened in them a dangerous mistrust towards their future master. However, this mistrust would never have led to any result of consequence, if they had not by particular attacks upon some of the members given enterprising chiefs to the discontented people. Henry Matthias, Count of Thurn, not a Bohemian, but a proprietor of some estates in this kingdom, had merited the entire confidence of the Utraquists, as much by his zeal for the Protestant religion, as by his enthusiastic attachment to his adopted country, and this opened the way for him to the most important stations in the kingdom.

" He had made war against the Turks with much renown, and attached the hearts of the multitude by affable and insinuating manners. Of an ardent, impetuous disposition, which loved disorder, because his talents then displayed themselves to the greatest advantage; indiscreet and yet bold enough to undertake things that a more considerate mind would not venture upon; so little scrupulous, that he could sport with the fate of thousands of lives, whenever the gratification of his passions was in question, and sufficiently skilful to lead, according to his caprice, a nation, such as Bohemia was at this period; he had taken the most active part in the troubles of this kingdom, even under the reign of Rodolph; and the letter of majesty which the states had obtained from this emperor, was principally his work. The court had intrusted to him, as Burgrave of Carlstein, the preservation of the crown of Bohemia and the charters of this kingdom; but the nation itself had conferred on him a far more important prerogative: in naming him the defender, or protector of its religion. The aristocracy, who governed the emperor,

imprudently took from the count of Thurn his guardianship over things: to give him an influence over men, they deprived this nobleman of the office of Burgrave, which made him dependent upon the favour of the court, and thus caused him to open his eyes to the importance of his other title, whilst his vanity was wounded which had hitherto kept his ambition within bounds. From this time, he was governed by the desire of revenge, and the opportunity of satisfying it was not long in presenting itself. In the letter of majesty, which the Bohemians had extorted from Rodolph the Second, as well as in the peace of religion of Germany, an important article remained undecided.—All the rights which the latter granted to the Protestant states were only for the benefit of the sovereign rulers, and not for that of the subjects. A vague liberty of conscience, and that merely to the subjects in ecclesiastical territories, was all that was permitted. The Bohemian letter of majesty likewise made mention only of the states and borough towns, whose magistrates had the address to procure them equal rights with the nobility. These only had the liberty of erecting churches, building schools, and of publicly celebrating the Protestant worship; in all other towns, it was left to the states of the country to which the subjects belonged, to decide what kind of religion they should exercise.—The princes and states of the German empire had made use of this right in the most extensive manner, and indeed the secular above all, without the least contradiction; the ecclesiastical states, restrained by a proclamation of the emperor Ferdinand, had not without reason opposed the obligation of this proclamation. What was a disputed point in the peace of religion, was undetermined in the letter of majesty; in the one, the interpretation was clear; but it was doubtful,

if they ought to obey it: in the other, the interpretation was left to the states.

In consequence, the subjects of ecclesiastical estates in Bohemia believed themselves to be in the possession of the same rights which the declaration of Ferdinand granted to the subjects of German bishops; they considered themselves upon the same equality as the subjects of the royal cities; because they reckoned the ecclesiastical property amongst the property of the crown. In the small town of Klostergrab, belonging to the archbishop of Prague; and in Braunau, which belongs to the abbot of this monastery, the Protestant subjects of their own authority laid the foundation of churches, and notwithstanding the opposition of their proprietors, and the disapprobation of the emperor, finished the building of them.

In the mean time, the watchfulness of the defenders of liberty had somewhat relaxed, and the court imagined it could venture upon a step of importance. By order of the emperor, the church at Klostergrab was pulled down, that at Braunau was forcibly shut up, and the most turbulent citizens were thrown into prison.

An universal commotion among the Protestants was the consequence of this step; they exclaimed against the violation of the letter of majesty; and the count of Thurn, animated by vengeance, and yet more by the desire of fulfilling his office of defender, was particularly active in irritating the minds of the people.

At his incitement a meeting of the deputies from all the circles of the kingdom was held at Prague, to take the necessary measures against the common danger. They resolved to petition the emperor, and to insist upon the release of the prisoners. The answer of the emperor, already very offensive to the states, in as much as it was

addressed directly to his governor, and not to them, treated their conduct as illegal and seditious, justified the events of Klostergrab and of Braunau, declared that they had only taken place in the execution of his orders, and contained even some passages, which they considered as threatening.

The count of Thurn neglected nothing to augment the bad impression which this Imperial reply produced among the members of the assembly. He pointed out to them, the danger to which all were exposed who had taken part in the petition addressed to the emperor; and he knew, either by inflaming their resentment, or by inspiring them with terror, how to excite them to the most violent resolutions.

An immediate revolt against the emperor would have been too precipitate a step at this time.

It was only by degrees that he could lead them to this inevitable end. He therefore judged it more expedient to direct their indignation at first against the emperor's counsellors, and in consequence, he spread the report, that the proclamation had been prepared in the palace of the Stadtholder at Prague, and that it was only signed in Vienna. Among the Imperial Stadtholders were the president of the chamber, Slavata, and the Baron of Martinitz, chosen Burgrave of Carlstein in the room of Thurn, objects of the universal hatred. Both had for a long time before made the Protestants acquainted with their hostile feelings towards them, in alone refusing to join the assembly, in which the letter of majesty was to be inserted in the constitutional laws of Bohemia.

From this moment then, they threatened, to render them responsible for all the future violations that might happen to the letter of majesty, and all which had happened,

since this time, inimical to the Protestants, was imputed to them and not without reason. Among all the Catholic proprietors, these two had exercised the most severe treatment towards their Protestant subjects. They were accused of having set dogs at them, to drive them to mass; and for the purpose of constraining them to embrace the Catholic religion, of refusing them baptism, marriage, and the rights of sepulchre.

Against two such detested chiefs, it was easy to inflame the anger of the nation, and they determined to sacrifice them to the universal indignation.

(On the 23rd May, 1618,) the deputies appeared armed at the king's castle, accompanied by a numerous escort; they pressed impetuously into the hall, where the governors Sternberg, Martinitz, Lobkowitz, and Slavata, were assembled. They demanded, in a threatening tone, of each separately, to declare if he had taken any part in the emperor's answer, or given his consent thereto? Sternberg replied with moderation; Martinitz and Slavata answered insolently.—This decided their fate.

Sternberg and Lobkowitz, less hated and more feared, were conducted to the hall by the arm; and they now seized Martinitz and Slavata, drew them to a window, from which they were precipitated into the moat of the castle, a height of eighty feet. The secretary Fabricius, a creature of both, they threw after them. Such strange conduct astonished the whole civilized world. The Bohemians excused the act, as reasonable, by saying that it was the custom of their country; and they found nothing wonderful in the whole affair; except, that having fallen from so great a height, the governors should have escaped unhurt. A dunghil which lay under the Imperial Stadtholder's palace saved them from injury. It was not to be

expected, that this rash measure would re-establish the states in the good graces of the emperor: but this was the very point which the count of Thurn had been waiting for. If the fear they had of an uncertain danger, had been able to determine them to commit such an act, to what extent might they not be carried now they had the assured prospect of chastisement, and the pressing necessity of providing for their security? Through this violent manner of doing justice to themselves, irresolution was rendered henceforth dangerous, and thus closed the door to repentance, and this single crime it appeared could only be redeemed by a series of new violences. Not being able to prevent what had been committed, they must disarm the power that was about to punish them.

Thirty directors were appointed for the purpose of organizing the insurrection. They took upon themselves all the concerns of government, and seized the revenues of the crown; they received the oaths of all the civil officers, and the army, and invited, by a proclamation, all Bohemia to defend the common cause. The Jesuits, whom the public hatred accused as the authors of all the oppressions suffered to this time, were banished the entire kingdom, and the states thought it necessary to justify themselves by a particular declaration, for the violence of this proceeding. All these measures had, they said, for their object, the upholding of the royal authority and the laws,—the common language of rebels, until fortune declares in their favour. The news of the event of the Bohemian insurrection, was far from exciting at the court of Vienna the lively emotion that it was natural it should have produced there.

The emperor Matthias was no longer that enterprising spirit that formerly sought his king and lord in the midst

of his people, to precipitate him from three thrones. The confident courage which had animated him in his usurpation, entirely abandoned him, when he acted for his own legitimate defence. The Bohemian rebels had first taken up arms, and it was in the nature of things, that he should do so likewise. But he could not hope to confine the war to Bohemia. In all the states under his dominion, the Protestants were connected by a dangerous sympathy,—the common danger, which menaced their religion, could quickly unite them in a formidable republic. What had he to oppose to such an enemy, if the Protestant part of his subjects abandoned him? And would not both parties annihilate each other in the horrors of a civil war? Was not every thing at stake if he failed, and if otherwise he had only conquered his own subjects.

These reflections made the emperor Matthias and his council inclined to concessions and thoughts of peace; but this very yielding, was considered by many as the cause of the succeeding troubles. The archduke Ferdinand of Gratz rather congratulated the emperor upon an event, which would justify, in the eyes of all Europe, the rigorous measures that were employed against the Protestants of Bohemia. "Disobedience," said he, "insubordination, and revolt, have always gone hand in hand "with the Protestants. All the liberties, which the states "have obtained from you and the former emperors, "have only served to increase their demands. All the "attempts of the Hereticks are directed against the so- "vereign authority; they have arrived by degrees from "insolence to insolence to this last attack; in short they "will even soon lay their hands upon the person of the "emperor, the only outrage that remains for them to com- "mit. Against such an enemy there was no remedy, but

"in arms alone, no repose nor submission but in the "abolition of their dangerous privileges. Only in the "entire destruction of this sect was the safety of the Catho- "lic religion to be found. The issue of the war was indeed "doubtful; but inevitable ruin was the consequence of "not engaging in it. The confiscated property of the "rebels would sufficiently indemnify the expenses of it, "and the terror of the executions would in future teach "other states quicker obedience." Were the Bohemian Protestants to blame, if they guarded themselves in time against the effect of such principles? And therefore only against the successor to the emperor's throne, not against himself, who had done nothing to justify the fears of the Protestants, was the Bohemian revolt directed. They had already taken up arms under Matthias, to bar the way to the Bohemian throne, therefore so long as this emperor lived they were willing to keep themselves within the bounds of an apparent submission. But the Bohemians had taken up arms, and the emperor could not offer them peace but with arms in hand. Spain advanced the necessary funds for the preparations, and promised to send him troops from Italy and the Netherlands. They appointed for a generalissimo, the count of Bucquoi, a Netherlander, because no native could be trusted, and the count of Dampier, another foreigner, commanded under him. Before the emperor put this army in motion, he would once more try the way of pacification; by a preceding manifesto in which he declared to the Bohemians, "That the letter of majesty was sacred to him, that he "had never resolved any thing either against their religion "or their privileges, that even the present armament had "been provoked by their own; and, as soon as the "nation laid down their arms, he would disband his army."

But this moderate declaration failed in its effect;—because the chiefs of the revolt thought proper, to hide from the people, the good intentions of the emperor. Instead therefore of making them known, they spread the most calumnious reports, as well in the pulpits as in the journals, and made the deluded people tremble with the fear of the renewal of a St. Bartholomew's night, which existed no where else than in their own heads. All Bohemia, with the exception of three towns, Budweiss, Krummau, and Pilsen, took part in the insurrection. These three towns, chiefly composed of Catholics, had alone the courage, in the midst of the general defection, to remain faithful to the emperor, who promised them assistance. But it could not escape the penetration of the count of Thurn, how dangerous it was, to leave in the hands of the enemy three places of this importance, which opened the kingdom, at all times, to the arms of the emperor. With quick determination he appeared before Budweiss and Krummau, and hoped to make both places submit through terror. Krummau surrendered to him; but Budweiss firmly repulsed all his attacks. And now the emperor began to shew more vigour and activity. Bucquoi and Dampierre with two armies, fell into the Bohemian territory, where they began hostilities. But the Imperial generals found the road to Prague more difficult than they had expected. Each passage, every place, however weakly fortified, must be carried sword in hand, and the opposition increased at every new step they took, because the disorders that their troops committed, mostly Hungarians and Walloons, brought their friends to defection and their enemies to despair. Nevertheless, even at the time when these troops penetrated into Bohemia, the emperor again offered peace to the states; and did not cease to make

propositions of reconciliation. New prospects which opened to them, raised the courage of the rebels. The states of Moravia declared for them, and there arrived from Germany, in the person of count Mansfield, an unexpected, as well as a valiant defender. The chiefs of the evangelical union had till now silently beheld the movements in Bohemia, but were not inactive spectators thereof. Both combated for the same cause, against the same enemy. In the fate of the Bohemians they caused their allies to see their own, and the cause of this people was represented by them as the most sacred of the Protestant German alliance. True to this principle, they raised the courage of the rebels, by promises of succour, and a fortunate accident placed them in a situation, to put these promises unexpectedly into execution.

Peter Ernest count Mansfield, the son of Ernest, of Mansfield, a most deserving Austrian officer, who had commanded the Spanish armies for a long time with much distinction in the Netherlands, was the instrument that was to humble the Austrian house in Germany.

He had consecrated his first campaigns to the service of this house, and fought under the standards of the archduke Leopold, in Juliers and in Alsace, against the Protestant religion and the German liberty. But insensibly won to the principles of this religion, he abandoned a chief, whose self-interest refused to return to him the advances made for his service, and consecrated to the Protestant union, his zeal and a victorious sword. It so happened, at this same epoch, that the duke of Savoy demanded succours of the union, of which he was a member, in a war against Spain. The union yielded to him their new acquisition, and Mansfield was commissioned to raise an army of 4000 men in Germany, for the use and

at the cost of the duke. This army was ready to march, at the same moment that the war broke out in Bohemia, and the duke, who, at this instant, had no occasion for it, left it to the free disposal of the union. Nothing could be more agreeable to the union than to succour their allies of Bohemia, at a foreign expense.

Count Mansfield immediately received orders to lead these 4000 men into Bohemia, and a pretended Bohemian appointment must conceal from the eyes of the world the true author of this armament. Mansfield now shewed himself there, and made a firm footing in this kingdom, by taking the strong town of Pilsen, firmly devoted to the emperor. The courage of the rebels was still further increased by the arrival of new succours, which the states of Silesia sent to their aid. Nothing of consequence took place between these and the Imperial troops, excepting some destructive events, which were preludes to more serious combats. In order to relax the activity of the emperor in his operations, they entered into negociations with him; they even accepted the mediation offered by the elector of Saxony. But before the issue of all these negociations exposed their bad faith, death took away the emperor from the scene.

What had Matthias now done, to justify the expectations of the world, to warrant the dethronement of his predecessor? Was it worth the trouble, to obtain by a crime, the throne of Rodolph, to occupy it so badly, and to abandon it with so little glory? So long as Matthias was sovereign, he suffered for the temerity through which he had acquired it. To enjoy the regal dignity some years sooner, he had sacrificed the independence of his throne. The little authority which the extended power of the states had yet left him, was shamefully withheld from him

by his own relations. Ill, and childless, he saw the attention of the whole world fixed beforehand upon a proud successor, who, in his impatience, already anticipated fate, and commenced his reign during that of the old man, upon the point of expiring. By Matthias's death, the reigning line of the German house of Austria was in a manner extinct; for of all Maximilian's children, there remained only the infirm and childless archduke Albert, in the Netherlands, who, however, had ceded all his rights in expectancy to this succession to the line of Gratz.

The house of Spain had also, by a secret treaty, renounced all its pretensions to the Austrian possessions, in favour of the archduke Ferdinand of Stiria, in whose person the stem of Hapsburg was to shoot fresh branches in Germany, and the former grandeur of the house of Austria to be restored. Ferdinand's father was Charles, archduke of Carniola, Corinthia, and Stiria; the youngest of the brothers of the emperor Maximilian the Second; his mother was a princess of Bavaria. Having lost his father at twelve years of age, the archduchess, his mother, confided his education to duke William, of Bavaria, brother of this princess, who had him educated and instructed under his eyes by the Jesuits, in the academy of Ingolstadt. It is not difficult to imagine what principles he would imbibe in the continual society of a prince who, from motives of devotion, withdrew himself from the affairs of government. On the one side, they shewed him the indulgence of Maximilian to the partisans of the new doctrine, and the troubles that desolated their country: on the other, the inflexible zeal of the sovereigns of Bavaria for the ancient religion, and the blessings it possessed, and they left him to choose between these two examples. Prepared in this school to be a champion of the faith, and an active

instrument of the church, he quitted Bavaria, after a residence of five years, to take upon him the government of his hereditary countries. The states of Carniola, Corinthia, and Stiria, demanded, before they took the oath of fidelity to him, the confirmation of their freedom of religion; he replied, that the freedom of religion had nothing to do with the oath. It was demanded without conditions, and was actually so taken. Many years elapsed before the time was matured to put in execution the plan conceived at Ingolstadt. Before Ferdinand brought it to light, he would first go himself, in person, to Loretto, to implore the succour of the Virgin Mary, and likewise to Rome, to obtain the apostolic benediction of the holy father, Clement the Eighth. This plan was nothing less than to drive the Protestant religion from a district, where it had the majority of the inhabitants on its side, and which a formal act of tolerance, granted by the father of Ferdinand to the nobility of these countries, had made legitimate. A consent so solemnly given, could not be withdrawn without danger; but no difficulties frightened this pious pupil of the Jesuits. The example of other states of the empire, Catholic as well as Protestant, who had exercised without opposition, the right of reform in their countries, and the abuse which the states of Stiria had made of their religious liberty, seemed to authorize this violent measure. Under the protection of an absurd, but positive law, they thought, without fear, to brave reason and equity. In this unjust enterprise Ferdinand shewed an admirable courage, and a perseverance worthy of admiration. Without noise, and it may be said even without cruelty, he suppressed the Protestant religion in one city after another, and in a few years, to the astonishment of all Germany, this dangerous work

was completed. But whilst the Catholics admired in him the hero and champion of their church, the Protestants began to arm against him as their most dangerous enemy. Nevertheless, when Matthias sought to obtain the succession to himself, he experienced no resistance, or very little, on the part of the elective states of Austria; and the Bohemians themselves, in crowning him their future king, imposed upon him but very moderate conditions.

It was not till too late, when, become emperor, they perceived the fatal influence that his counsellors exercised upon him, that their fears were awakened; and different projects written by his own hand, which betrayed but too intelligibly his sentiments, and which perfidious means caused to fall into their hands, extended their apprehensions to the uttermost. They were chiefly indignant at a secret family compact concluded with Spain, wherein, in default of male issue, Ferdinand assured the kingdom of Bohemia to this crown, without either consulting the nation, or shewing the least regard to its free right of election to the crown. The numerous enemies which this prince made by his reform in Stiria among the Protestants in general, injured him greatly with the Bohemians, and some Stirian emigrants, in particular, who had taken refuge in Bohemia, and brought into their new country a heart thirsting for revenge, occupied themselves in nourishing the flame of sedition. Such was the disagreeable situation in which Ferdinand found Bohemia upon the decease of Matthias. Such an ill understanding between the nation and the candidate for the crown, would have occasioned storms even in the calmest time of an ordinary succession:—how much more so now, when revolt was at its height, now, when the nation had recovered its majesty, and exercised again its natural rights, now,

when it had arms in its hands, when, by the feeling of unanimity, an enthusiastic self-confidence was awakened in it, when the most happy success, promises of foreign succour, and vain expectations, elevated its courage to the highest degree of confidence!

Unmindful of the rights with which they had already invested Ferdinand, the states declared their throne vacant and annulled the election which they had made. There now remained no further hope of submission; and, if Ferdinand would possess the throne of Bohemia, he had the choice, either to purchase it by the sacrifice of all that rendered it most precious, or conquer that kingdom by force of arms. But with what resources conquer it? On whatever country he turned his eyes, he perceived only the flames of revolt. Silesia was, at the same time, drawn into the rebellion with Bohemia, and Moravia was upon the point of following this example. In upper and lower Austria, the spirit of liberty was alive as in the time of Rodolph, and the states of the provinces refused to take the oath of allegiance. Prince Bethlen Gabor, of Transylvania, threatened Hungary with an invasion; a secret armament of the Turks filled all the provinces in the east with consternation; and, to perfect the evil, the Protestants of his hereditary states, excited by the general example, were also upon the point of rising. The Protestants formed the greatest number in these lands, and had the greater part of the revenues in their possession, with which Ferdinand must wage war. Those who were neuter began to hesitate, the faithful to despair, and the ill-intentioned only had courage; one half of Germany favoured the rising of the rebels, the other half waited in silence the result of events; Spanish succours were yet far distant. The moment which placed

him in possession of every thing, threatened, at the same time, to deprive him of all. Whatever he now offered to the Bohemian rebels, compelled by the hard law of necessity, —all his propositions for peace were haughtily rejected. The count of Thurn now presented himself in Moravia, at the head of an army, to force this only province, still wavering, to a decision. The appearance of friends was the signal for revolt to all Protestant Moravia. Brunen was taken, and the rest of the country willingly sided with the conquerer. Throughout the province, they changed the religion and the government. The torrent of rebels increasing in its course, precipitated itself all at once into upper Austria, where a considerable party of the same religion received it with joyful approbation.

"There must be in future no distinction of religion, "equal rights for all christian churches. It was reported "that a foreign force was raising in the country to oppress "the Bohemians. Let us seek it, and pursue even to Je- "rusalem the enemy of liberty." No arm was raised to defend the archduke; and the rebels appeared at last before Vienna, to besiege their master. Ferdinand had sent his children from Gratz, where they were no longer in security, to Tirol; he himself waited for the rebels in his capital. He had but a handful of soldiers to oppose to this furious multitude. These were wanting in good will, because they received neither pay nor bread. Vienna was not prepared to sustain a long siege. The Protestant party, ready every instant to unite themselves to the Bohemians, was the most numerous in the city; those of the country already assembled troops against him. The Protestant populace already saw the duke confined in a monastry, his estates divided, and his children become Protestants.

Betrayed by private and surrounded by open enemies, he saw, every instant, the abyss opening that was to ingulf him and all his hopes. The Bohemian balls reached the Imperial palace, when sixteen Austrian barons pressed into his room, loaded him with reproaches, and endeavoured to extort his consent to a confederacy with the Bohemians. One of these seized him by the button of his waistcoat: "Ferdinand," said he to him angrily, "wilt thou sign?"

Who would not have been pardoned for hesitating in such a desperate situation? Ferdinand reflected on his dignity. There appeared to be no other resource left him than a rapid flight, or compliance; men of sense advised him to the one—Catholic priests to the other. If he abandoned the capital, it fell into the hands of the enemy; in losing Vienna he lost Austria, and with it the Imperial throne. Ferdinand would not leave his capital, and yet disdained to listen to conditions. The archduke was still disputing with the deputation of barons, when suddenly the sound of trumpets was heard in the castle yard; astonishment and fear became universal, a frightful report prevailed throughout the palace. The deputies fled one after the other. Many of the nobility and citizens hastily took refuge in Thurn's camp. This sudden change was effected by the arrival of a regiment of Dampire's cuirassiers, which, at this critical moment, marched into the town to defend the archduke. They were soon followed by infantry; many Catholic citizens re-emboldened by the presence of these troops, also took arms, and even the students. To a report which spread beyond Bohemia he owed his safety.

The Netherland general Bucquoi had gained a complete victory over Mansfield, near Budweiss, and was marching upon Prague. The Bohemians quickly broke

up their encampment, and hastened to the defence of their capital. And now all the passes were again free, which the enemy had occupied, to bar Ferdinand's road to Frankfort, to the election of the Imperial throne. If it was important to the king of Hungary's general projects to ascend the German throne, this importance was considerably augmented, by the actual circumstances; his nomination to the throne was the undisputed and decisive proof, that he was worthy of it, and that his cause was just: at the same time, it made him hope for the assistance of the empire.

But the same cabal, which pursued him in his hereditary states, also employed its efforts, to prevent his being made emperor. No prince of the house of Austria was any longer to occupy the throne of Germany, the least of all Ferdinand, the implacable persecutor of the Protestant religion, the slave of Spain, and of the Jesuits. To prevent this, they had, even in the life time of Matthias, offered the Imperial crown, at first to the duke of Bavaria; and upon his refusal, to the duke of Savoy. But as it was not very easy to come to an understanding with the latter as to the conditions upon which he would accept it, they sought to defer the election, until a decisive blow either in Bohemia or Austria had entirely destroyed all the hopes of Ferdinand, and placed it beyond his power ever to be elected to this Imperial dignity. The members of the union made all the efforts in their power to set the elector of Saxony against him, who was chained to the interests of the house of Austria, and they represented to this court all the dangers which this prince's principles and his connections with Spain threatened the Protestant religion, and even the constitution of the empire. By elevating Ferdinand to the Imperial throne, they further

added, Germany would see herself entangled in the private concerns of this prince, and bring the forces of Bohemia against her. However, in spite of all their efforts, the day of election was fixed, Ferdinand was called to the diet in quality of legitimate king of Bohemia, and his electoral voice was reckoned valid, notwithstanding the opposition of the states of the kingdom. The three ecclesiastical electors declared in his favour, likewise Saxony; Brandenburg did not oppose him, and a decided majority declared him emperor in 1619. Thus he saw placed upon his head the most uncertain of all his crowns, to lose a few days after, that which he already regarded as the most secure. While they made him emperor at Frankfort, they deprived him of the Bohemian throne at Prague. Almost the whole of his German hereditary states had entered into a formidable confederacy with the Bohemians, whose audacity now broke through all bounds.

On the 17th of August, 1619, a general diet declared the emperor an enemy to the Bohemian religion and liberty; by his pernicious counsels, which excited the late king against them by his furnishing troops to oppress them, delivering their country to the rapacity of foreigners; and at last, by his contempt of the national independence, in entering into a secret treaty with Spain, to have forfeited all claim to their crown; and proceeded without delay to a new election.

As the Protestants made this decision, the election could hardly fall upon a Catholic prince, though for the sake of appearance, some voices pronounced in favour of the duke of Bavaria and the duke of Savoy. But the violent religious hatred which divided the Lutherans and Calvinists, rendered the election, even of a Protestant king, for a long time difficult, until at last, the address and ac-

tivity of the Calvinists obtained the victory over the Lutherans, although the latter were more numerous. Of all the princes who were proposed to fill this dignity, the elector palatine, Frederic V. had the most substantial claims to the confidence and gratitude of the Bohemians; and among all others, not any, in whom the private interest of each state and the attachment of the people appeared to be justified by so many general advantages.

Frederic V. possessed a lively and open disposition, much goodness of heart, and had the generosity of a king. He was at the head of the reformists in Germany, the chief of the union and absolute master of all its forces, a near relation to the duke of Bavaria, and a son-in-law to the king of Great Britain, who could in case of necessity furnish him with powerful support.

All these advantages the Calvinist party well understood how to profit by, and Frederic was elected king, in the midst of prayers and tears of joy in the assembly of the states at Prague. All that had happened in the Imperial diet at Prague, was a premeditated affair, and Frederic himself had taken too active a part in all these events, to be surprised at the offer of the Bohemians. However, the sudden glitter of this crown, and the double extent of the crime and of the fortune which placed him upon the throne, made him tremble with fear. After the usual example of weak souls, he first had recourse to foreign counsels to strengthen him in his resolution; but even this expedient was of no use to him, whenever the advice was not conformable to his own desires.

The electors of Saxony and Bavaria, to whom he addressed himself, as also all his brother electors, who weighed the grandeur of the enterprise with his strength and capacity, warned him of the abyss into which he was pre-

cipitating himself. Even king James of England would rather see his son-in-law deprived of a crown than aid him in violating the sacred majesty of kings by so bad an example. But of what consequence was the voice of wisdom against the seducing splendour of a crown? At the moment when a free nation developes the greatest energy, when she expels far from her the sacred branch of kings that has governed her for two centuries, and throws herself into the arms of a new monarch; when, confiding in his courage, she chooses him for her guide in the perilous career of fame and liberty: and when an oppressed religion expects from him, her defender, protection and support against her persecutors; can he pusillanimously acknowledge his fears? can he cowardly abandon the cause of religion and liberty? This very religion shewed him the superiority of her powers and the feebleness of her enemies,—two-thirds of the Austrian force armed against Austria, and a warlike ally in Transylvania ready, by a hostile attack, to employ the weak remains of this power,—were not these motives proper to excite his ambition? were not such hopes capable of inflaming his courage? A few moments of calm reflection would have been sufficient to have shewn him the rashness of his enterprise, and the little value of the recompense that was attached thereto;—but the incitement spoke to his senses, and the warning only to his reason. It was his misfortune, that those who were nearest to him, and could best make themselves understood, took that part which flattered his passions. All his palatine servants saw in the aggrandizement of their master, a vast field open to their ambition and cupidity. This triumph of his church must inflame every Calvinist with enthusiasm. Could so feeble a mind resist the flat-

tering illusions of his counsellors, who exaggerated as much his resources and strength, as they depreciated those of his enemy? Could he resist the demands of his chaplains, who announced to him the inspirations of their fanatical zeal, as the will of heaven? Astrological reveries filled his head with chimerical hopes; even the irresistible charm of love employed all its seductions with him. "Couldst thou presume," said the electoress to him, "to the hand of the daughter of a king, and yet "scruple to accept a crown which is voluntarily offered "to thee! I had rather eat only bread and be the con- "sort of a king, than feast upon the greatest luxuries "at an electoral table." Frederic accepted the crown of Bohemia. The coronation took place at Prague with unexampled splendour, the nation brought forth all its riches to honour its own work. Silesia and Moravia, countries depending upon Bohemia, followed the example of this kingdom, and took the oath of allegiance.

The reformation was triumphant in all the churches of the kingdom; the exultation was without bounds, and the love for the new king approached even to adoration. Denmark, Sweden, Holland and Venice, with many German states, acknowledged him as legitimate king; and Frederic now prepared to maintain his new throne. His greatest hopes were placed in Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania.

This formidable enemy of Austria and of the Catholic church, not content with his principality, which he had taken from its lawful master Gabriel Bathori, with the assistance of the Turks, eagerly seized this opportunity to aggrandize himself at the expense of the Austrian princes, who had refused to acknowledge him as sovereign of Transylvania. He had concerted with the Bohe-

mian rebels an attack upon Hungary and Austria, and the junction of the two armies was to take place before the capital. In the mean time, Bethlen Gabor concealed the true motive of his armament under the mask of friendship; and artfully promised the emperor, under the pretence of assisting them, to lead them into a snare, and to deliver up the chiefs of the revolt alive to him. Suddenly, however, he appeared as an enemy in upper Hungary;—preceded by terror, and followed by devastation, all yielded before him, and at Presburg he received the crown of Hungary. The emperor's brother, governor of Vienna, trembled for the capital. He hastily called general Bucquoi to his succour; the retreat of the Imperialists brought the Bohemian army a second time before Vienna.

Reinforced by twelve thousand Transylvanians, and soon after joined by the victorious army of Bethlen Gabor, it threatened once more to carry this capital. The country was laid waste even to Vienna, the navigation of the Danube closed, all supplies cut off, and the terrors of a famine were felt. Ferdinand, whom this pressing danger had hastened back to his capital, saw himself a second time at the brink of destruction. At length, scarcity of provisions, and the rigour of the season, forced the Bohemians to return home; a check in Hungary recalled Bethlen Gabor, and fortune saved the emperor a second time. In a few weeks every thing was changed, and Ferdinand improved by an active prudence the situation of his affairs in the same degree as Frederic ruined his own by negligence and impolitic measures.

The states of lower Austria were brought back to obedience by the confirmation of their privileges, and the few who yet resisted were outlawed and declared guilty

of high treason. Thus the emperor obtained firm footing again in one of his hereditary countries, and at the same time every exertion was made to assure himself of foreign assistance. He had already at his coronation at Frankfort, succeeded by his verbal representations, in bringing over to his interest the three ecclesiastical electors, and he had the same success at Munich, with the duke Maximilian, of Bavaria. The whole issue of this war, the fate of Frederic and of the emperor, depended upon the part which the union and the league would take in it. It appeared to be important to all the Protestants of Germany, to support the Bohemian king,—it seemed that the interest of the Catholic religion equally demanded that the emperor should not be overpowered.

If the Protestants triumphed in Bohemia, all the Catholic princes in Germany had to tremble for their possessions: if they failed, the emperor could dictate the law to the Protestant powers of Germany. Ferdinand therefore put the League, and Frederic the Union, in motion.

The tie of relationship and personal attachment to the emperor, his brother-in-law, with whom he had been brought up at Ingoldstadt; his zeal for the Catholic religion, which appeared to be in the most evident danger; the insinuations of the Jesuits, joined to the suspicious movements of the Union, determined the duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the League, to make the cause of Ferdinand their own.

Maximilian, after having concluded a treaty with the last, which assured to him the restitution of all the expenses of the war, and the indemnification of all losses he might experience, took the unlimited command of the

forces of the League, which was put in motion to assist the emperor against the rebels of Bohemia.

The leaders of the Union, instead of preventing this dangerous alliance of the League with the emperor, rather took all possible means to accelerate it. If they could oblige the League to take a decisive part in the war of Bohemia, they had then the hope that all the members and allies of the Union would follow the example. Without an open step on the part of the Catholics against the Union, the Protestants could not hope to unite all their forces. They therefore chose the critical moment of the Bohemian troubles to demand of the Catholics the redress of ancient grievances, and a full guarantee for the free exercise of their religion. These demands, which were made in a threatening tone, were addressed to the duke of Bavaria, as the head of the Catholics; and they pressed for a quick and decisive reply. Whatever part Maximilian himself took in this situation, either for or against, the end which they proposed was accomplished: if he yielded, they had deprived the Catholic party of one of its most powerful protectors; his opposition armed the whole Protestant party, and rendered a war, in which they hoped to triumph, inevitable. Maximilian, already attached by so many motives to the opposite party, received this demand of the union as a formal declaration of war, and hastened his preparations. While Bavaria and the League armed for the emperor, applications were made to the court for subsidies. Count Khevenhuller, the Imperial ambassador at Madrid, fortunately surmounted all the obstacles which the indolent policy of the Spanish minister opposed to his demand. Besides the advance of a million of florins, which were drawn by degrees from this court, it was at the same

time determined to attack the lower Palatinate, from the Spanish Netherlands. While they endeavoured to draw into the league all the Catholic states, they likewise employed the most vigorous measures against the Protestants. It was important to quiet the apprehensions of the elector of Saxony, and several of the Protestant states, upon what the Union had stated; namely, that the armament of the League had for its object the taking back of the secularized establishments. A written declaration, which positively expressed to the contrary, pacified the elector of Saxony, whose particular jealousy against the elector palatine, the instigations of his chaplain, who was purchased by Austria, and the mortification which he felt in seeing himself neglected by the Bohemians in the election of their king, had already inclined to the side of Austria. The fanaticism of the Lutherans could never pardon the Calvinists that so many noble countries, as they expressed it, should fall into the hands of the latter, and that the Roman anti-christ should only give way to that of Helvetia.

Whilst Ferdinand did every thing to ameliorate his doubtful situation, Frederic left nothing undone to injure his good one. By a scandalous close alliance with the prince of Transylvania, the open ally of the Porte, he displeased weak minds, and the public voice accused him of seeking to aggrandize himself at the expense of Christendom, and of arming the Turks against Germany. His inconsiderate zeal for Calvinism was displeasing to the Lutherans in Bohemia, and his attack upon the images incensed the Papists of this kingdom against him. New oppressive imposts deprived him of the love of the people. The Bohemian nobles, deceived in their hopes, no longer shewed the same zeal; the want of foreign aid

changed their confidence. Instead of giving himself up entirely to the administration of his kingdom, Frederic lost his time in amusements; instead of replenishing his treasury by a wise economy, he dissipated the revenues of his states in a vain theatrical pomp, and ill-judged liberalities. Indolent and inconsiderate, he contemplated upon his new dignity, and, in giving himself up without reserve to the enjoyments attached to supreme power, he forgot the pressing necessity of securing the crown upon his head. As much as men were deceived in the choice of this prince, so much had he himself been deceived in reckoning upon foreign assistance. Most of the members of the Union separated the affairs of Bohemia from the object of their alliance; other Imperial states, devoted to him, were restrained by a blind fear of the emperor. Ferdinand had gained over to his interests, Saxony and Hesse-Darmstadt: Lower Austria, where they expected a powerful diversion, had submitted to the emperor, and Bethlen Gabor had concluded a suspension of arms with him. The court of Vienna, by means of embassies, knew how to amuse Denmark, and to occupy Sweden by a war with Poland. The republic of Holland could hardly resist the Spanish arms; Venice and Saxony remained inactive; king James of England was duped by the artifice of Spain. One friend after the other forsook him, all his hopes vanished in the same manner,—so suddenly did every thing change in the space of a few months!

In the mean time, the chiefs of the Union assembled an army; the emperor and the League did so likewise. The forces of the last were collected under Maximilian's colours at Donauwerth; those of the Union at Ulm, under the margrave of Anspach. The decisive moment ap-

peared at last to be arrived, when this long quarrel was to be terminated by a grand battle, and the fate of both churches in Germany irrevocably fixed. Anxiety for the result was at its height on both sides. How great then was the astonishment, when, all at once, the news of peace arrived, and both armies separated without striking a blow!

The mediation of France had effected this peace, which was embraced with equal readiness by both parties. The French ministry, no longer directed by a Henry the Great, whose political maxim perhaps was no longer applicable to the then situation of the kingdom, now feared the increasing power of the house of Austria much less than the extreme power of the Calvinists, if the Palatine house succeeded in maintaining itself upon the throne of Bohemia. Engaged at this very time in a dangerous struggle with its own Calvinist subjects, it had nothing so much at heart as to see the Protestant faction of Bohemia suppressed as quickly as possible, before it should serve as a dangerous example to the faction of Huguenots in France. In order therefore to give the emperor free scope to act promptly against the Bohemians, it interposed as a mediator between the Union and the League, and caused them to conclude this unexpected peace, the most important article of which was, "That the Union would not take "part in any manner in the affairs of Bohemia, and that "the succour which they should render to Frederic V. "should not extend beyond his palatine territories." The resolute character of Maximilian, and the fear of being placed between the troops of the League and a new Imperial army, which was advancing from the Netherlands, determined the Union to this most shameful peace. All the forces of Bavaria and the League were now at the disposal of the emperor, ready to act against the Bohemians,

that the treaty of Ulm abandoned to their fate. Sooner than the news of the events of Ulm could arrive there, Maximilian appeared in upper Austria, where the states, astonished and prepared for no enemy, purchased the pardon of the emperor by a quick and unconditional submission. In lower Austria the duke called the troops of the count of Bucquoi to his assistance; and this Imperial Bavarian army, after their union fifty thousand men strong, penetrated without delay into the Bohemian territory. It drove before it all the Bohemian squadrons which were spread over lower Austria and Moravia; all the towns that ventured to make opposition were carried by storm; others, frightened by the report of their chastisement, voluntarily opened their gates;—nothing stopped Maximilian's rapid course.

The Bohemian army, commanded by the valiant prince Christian, of Anhalt, retired into the neighbourhood of Prague, where Maximilian, under the walls of this capital, gave them battle. The bad condition in which he hoped to surprise the army of the rebels justified the duke's celerity, and assured him the victory.

Frederic had not 30,000 men altogether; the prince of Anhalt brought 8000, and Bethlen Gabor sent 10,000 Hungarians to join his standards. An irruption of the elector of Saxony into Lusatia intercepted all the succours which he expected from that country, as also from Silesia; the submission of Austria took from him all the assistance which he had promised himself from thence. Bethlen Gabor, his most important ally, remained tranquil; the union had betrayed him to the emperor. He had only his Bohemians to depend upon, and they were wanting in good inclination, union, and courage.

The Bohemian grandees saw with grief that German generals were preferred to them.

Count Mansfeld remained in Pilsen, separated from the Bohemian head quarters, not to serve under the orders of Anhalt and Hohenloe. The soldiers, who were even in want of absolute necessaries, lost all their accustomed bravery; and the bad discipline in the army caused the most bitter complaints on the part of the inhabitants of the country. It was in vain that Frederic made his appearance in the camp, to animate, by his presence, the courage of the troops, and to excite, by his example, the emulation of the nobles.

The Bohemians began to entrench themselves on the White Mountain near Prague, when they were attacked by the united Imperial Bavarian armies, on the 8th November, 1620.† At the commencement of the battle, the cavalry of Prince Anhalt gained some advantages; but the superiority of the enemy's forces soon put an end to them. The Bavarians and Walloons charged with an irresistible impetuosity, and the Hungarian cavalry were the first to turn their backs. The Bohemian infantry soon followed their example, and in the general flight the Germans were at length hurried along. Ten pieces of cannon, which composed the whole of Frederic's artillery, fell into the enemy's hands. Four thousand Bohemians fell in the field of battle, or perished in the flight; the Imperialists and troops of the League lost only a few hundred men. This decisive victory was gained in less than an hour. Frederic was dining at Prague, whilst his army was shedding their blood under the walls of this city on his account. It is probable he had not expected any attack, as he had even ordered a banquet on this day. A messenger drew him at last from the table, and from the

walls of the city he witnessed the whole scene of horror. He requested a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours, to have time to take his determination: eight was all the duke would grant him.

Frederic profited of these, by flying from the capital in the night, with his spouse and the principal officers of the army. This flight was made with so much precipitation, that the prince of Anhalt left his private papers behind him, and Frederic his crown. "I know now who I am," said this unfortunate prince to those who wished to console him. "There are virtues which misfortune alone "can teach us, and it is only in adversity that we princes "acquire a true knowledge of ourselves."

Prague was not yet lost without resource, when Frederic pusillanimously abandoned it. Mansfeld's corps was still at Pilsen, and had not taken any part in the action. Bethlen Gabor might every instant declare himself as an enemy, and draw off the emperor's forces to the frontiers of Hungary. The Bohemians, though beaten, might rally; sickness, hunger, and the inclemency of the season, might annihilate the enemy's army,—all these hopes vanished in the general consternation.

Frederic feared the inconstancy of the Bohemians, who might easily yield to the desire of obtaining their pardon, by giving up his person to the emperor. Thurn, and all those who were equally circumstanced with him, did not judge it prudent to await their fate within the walls of Prague. They fled to Moravia, and soon from thence to seek their safety in Transylvania. Frederic fled to Breslau, where he remained only a short time; then to the court of the crown prince of Brandenburg, and at last to Holland, to seek an asylum there.

The battle of Prague had decided the entire fate of Bohemia. Prague surrendered to the conqueror on the following day, and the remaining towns followed its example. The states of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance without any restriction; Silesia and Moravia did the same. The emperor allowed three months to elapse before he ordered any enquiry into the past. Many of those, who in the first moment of alarm, had fled, returned, full of confidence in this apparent moderation to the capital. But upon a certain day and hour the storm broke out. Forty-eight of the most active promoters of the revolt were taken prisoners, and brought before an extraordinary commission, composed of native Bohemians and Austrians. Twenty-seven of them died upon the scaffold, and an immense number of the common people.

The absent were summoned to appear; and, as they did not present themselves, they were condemned to the penalty of death, as guilty of high treason, and offenders against the Catholic majesty; their property was confiscated, and their names affixed to the gallows. They also seized the estates of the executed rebels. This tyranny was supportable, because it fell only upon some private persons, and the spoils of one individual enriched another; but that which pressed upon all the kingdom without distinction was more sensibly felt. All the Protestant ministers were driven from the country; the Bohemian immediately, the German somewhat later.

Ferdinand tore the letter of majesty with his own hand, and burnt the seal.

Seven years after the battle of Prague, all tolerance was withdrawn from the Bohemian Protestants. Notwithstanding the emperor permitted such violent attacks

against the religious privileges of the Bohemians, he appeared to respect their political constitution; and, whilst he took from them the liberty of conscience, he yet magnanimously left them the right of taxing themselves.

The victory gained upon the White Mountain placed Ferdinand in possession of all his states, and even restored them to him, with a more extensive power than his predecessor had enjoyed; because the oath of allegiance was taken without condition, and no letter of majesty any longer limited his sovereign authority. The aim of all his legitimate wishes was therefore fulfilled, and even beyond his most sanguine expectations. He could now release his allies and recal his armies. The war was ended: it might be called just; but had it been both generous and just, the punishment would have been so likewise. The entire fate of Germany now lay in his hands, and the happiness or misery of many millions of people depended upon the resolution which he took. Never was one man the arbiter of such grand interests; never did the blindness of a man cause so much destruction.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK II.

THE resolution, which Ferdinand now took, gave quite another direction to the war, a new theatre and other actors. From a rebellion in Bohemia and an expedition against the rebels, a German war was created, and soon after an European one. Now, therefore, it is time to make a few observations upon Germany and the rest of Europe.—Whatever inequality existed in the territory of the German empire, and the rights of its members, between the Catholics and the Protestants, it was only requisite that each party should make use of its own peculiar advantages, and maintain itself in a political union, in order to be able to oppose, effectually, its adversary. If, on the one side, the Catholics were superior in numbers, and more favoured by the constitution of the empire; the Protestants, on their side, possessed territories more connected and populous, valiant princes, a warlike nobility, and numerous armies; opulent free towns, the dominion of the sea, and, at the worst, they could depend upon finding a party in the countries of the Catholic princes. If Spain and Italy armed for the Catholics, Venice, Holland, and England, opened their treasures to the Protestants, the northern states and the formidable empire of the Turks were ready to march to their succour. Bran-

denburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate, opposed three respectable Protestant votes to the three ecclesiastical ones in the electoral council, and the Imperial dignity was but a fetter to the elector of Bohemia, and archduke of Austria, if the Protestant states understood how to profit of their influence.

The military power of the Union could always keep that of the League in awe, or, if a war actually broke out, make the event doubtful. But unhappily private interest broke the common political tie, which should have held the Protestant states together. At this great epoch only ordinary characters appeared upon the scene, and the decisive moment was lost, because the courageous failed in strength, the strong in genius, courage, and resolution. The services of Maurice, his grand-father, the extent of his states, and the weight of his influence, placed the elector of Saxony at the head of the Protestants in Germany.

Upon the determination of this prince, depended the victory which either of the contending parties was to obtain. John George was not insensible to the advantages which these important circumstances afforded him. An equally important conquest to both the emperor and the Union, he carefully avoided giving himself up entirely to either the one or the other. He feared lightly to commit himself by an irrevocable declaration, to the gratitude of the emperor, or to lose the advantages which he might derive from the fears of this prince. Exempt from the chivalrous enthusiasm or the religious fanaticism which all the sovereigns of this period successively possessed, and which hurried them on to expose to the hazard of war both their crowns and their lives, John George sought the more substantial glory in the prosperity of his states. If his contemporaries accused him of abandoning the

Protestant cause in the midst of the storm, of preferring the aggrandizement of his house to the prosperity of his country, and of exposing the whole Protestant Church of Germany to destruction, for the mere purpose of not raising an arm for the Calvinist Church; if they accuse him of not having less injured the common cause by the indecision of his conduct, than its most decided enemies: these princes were nevertheless to blame, who did not take the wise politics of this elector for their model. But if, disregarding these wise politics, the Saxon cultivator had to deplore, like others, the horrours which the Imperial troops committed in their march; if all Germany saw how Ferdinand deceived his ally, and sported with his promises; if John George himself at length perceived this, it was the more shameful of the emperor to abuse, so cruelly, the loyal confidence placed in him.—If this excessive confidence in Austria, and the hope of aggrandizing his possessions, prevented the elector of Saxony from acting, the fear of this same power, the fear of losing his states, held the weak George William of Brandenburg in far more disgraceful fetters. The faults with which these two princes are reproached, would have saved the elector palatine his glory and his states. A rash confidence in untried forces, the influence of the counsels of France, and the seducing splendour of a crown, drew this unfortunate prince into a rash enterprise, to which neither his genius nor his political strength was equal. By the division of his territories, and the bad understanding of his servants, the power of the palatinate house was enfeebled, which, concentrated in one hand, would yet have rendered doubtful, for a long time, the issue of the war.

A similar division of territories likewise weakened the sovereign house of Hesse, and the difference of religion

kept up the most fatal division between the houses of Darmstadt and Cassel. The line of Darmstadt, attached to the confession of Augsburg, had placed itself under the protection of the emperor, who favoured it at the expense of the reformed line of Cassel. Whilst the companions of his belief shed their blood for the cause of religion and that of liberty, the landgrave George, of Darmstadt, received a subsidy from the emperor. William of Cassel, on the contrary, in all things worthy of his grandfather, who, a hundred years before, had undertaken to defend the liberty of the empire against the formidable Charles V. preferred the part of danger and of honour. Elevated above that pusillanimity which made much more powerful princes than himself bend to the power of Ferdinand, he was the first who voluntarily offered his arm to the Swedish hero, and gave to the princes of Germany an example, that not any one among them had yet ventured to give. His resolution announced the greatest courage, his perseverance shewed no less firmness, nor his exploits less bravery. Intrepid, he placed himself before his bleeding country, and received, with contempt, an enemy whose hands were yet reeking with the sanguinary sacking of Magdeburg. The landgrave William is worthy of immortality with the heroes of the race of Ernestine, to which he belonged. Slow appeared the day of vengeance due to thee, unfortunate John Frederic, most noble, immortal prince!—Slow, but it came, and full of glory. Thy times returned, and thy heroical genius appeared again in thy grandson. A brave race of princes of thy line issue from the forests of Thuringia, to revenge, by immortal deeds, the affront that took from thee the electoral crown, and to appease, by bloody heaps of slaughtered victims, thy immortal manes. The decision

of the conqueror could deprive thee of thy states; but could not take from them those patriotic virtues thou hadst committed to them, the chivalrous courage, which, a century after, shook the throne of his grandson.

Thy vengeance, that of entire Germany, placed in their hands the sacred sword with which the house of Hapsburg was to be pursued, and this invincible steel passed as a heritage from the hand of one hero to that of another. That which they were not able to fulfil as princes, they executed as men, and died gloriously—the bravest of the soldiers of freedom. Not being able to attack their enemy with their own forces, they directed the thunder of strangers upon him, and led foreign standards to victory. The liberty of Germany, abandoned by the powerful states, which alone received all its benefits, was defended by a small number of princes, who hardly received any advantages whatever. "Large possessions and dignities destroy courage, it was the absence of both that produced heroes. —While Saxony, Brandenburg, &c. &c., drew back with fear, Anhalt, Mansfeld, the princes of Weimar, and others, were seen prodigal of their blood in murderous combats. The dukes of Pomerania, Mechlenburg, Lunenburg, Wurtemburg, and the Imperial towns of Upper Germany, to which, for a long time, the supreme head of the empire was a dreaded name, withdrew themselves with fear from the contest against the emperor, and, murmuring, yielded to the hand that crushed them. Austria and Catholic Germany had, in the person of the duke Maximilian of Bavaria, a defender as powerful as brave and political. Faithful in all the course of this war to the well-digested plan that he had adopted, never wavering between his political interest and his religion, never the slave of Austria, which worked for its own aggrandize-

ment, whilst it dreaded his protecting arm; Maximilian deserved to receive from a better hand than that of an arbitrary master, the dignities and states which recompensed his services. The other Catholic states, the most part ecclesiastical princes, not sufficiently warlike to oppose the least resistance to these armed bands, which the opulence of their countries invited, became successively victims of the war. They confined themselves with pursuing, in their cabinets and in their pulpits, an enemy whom they did not dare to combat in the field. All, either slaves of Austria or Bavaria, were obscured by Maximilian, and in the hands of this prince their united forces began for the first time to be of some importance. The formidable monarchy, which Charles V. and his son had formed of the Netherlands, of Milan, the two Sicilies, of the vast countries of the East and West Indies, tended towards its decline, under the reigns of Philip III. and Philip IV. Raised to sudden grandeur by a sterile gold, this monarchy was seen by degrees sinking into a general decay, because it was deprived of that which constitutes the nerves of states,—agriculture. The conquest of the West Indies had plunged Spain into misery, to enrich all the European markets, and the bankers of Antwerp, Venice, and Genoa, speculated in advance upon the gold which yet lay in the mines of Peru. Spain had been depopulated to people the Indies. The immense treasures they had found there were consumed in the war against Holland, in the chimerical project of subverting the order of succession established in France, and in a fruitless attempt against England. But the pride of this court had outlived its grandeur, as the hatred of its enemies had survived its ancient power, and fear appeared still to reign around the den which the lion no longer inhabited. The mistrust

of the Protestants made Philip III.'s minister incline to the dangerous policy of his father, and the Catholics of Germany still continued to have that confidence in the support of Spain, which they have in the bones of the martyrs to work miracles. An exterior pomp hid the wounds which exhausted this monarchy, and the good opinion of its power remained, because it continued the high tone of its golden days.

Slaves at home, and strangers upon their own throne, these shadows of kings of Spain governed the princes of their blood in Germany, and it is permitted to doubt, if the succour which they ever furnished to them, merited the shameful dependence with which the German emperors purchased it.

Ignorant monks and cunning favourites played, behind the Pyrenean mountains, with the destinies of Europe. However, this power, even in its profound abasement, did not cease to be redoubtable; it did not yield to any other in extent; always faithful to its ancient system, if not by the firmness of its politics, at least by custom, it yet possessed disciplined armies and excellent generals at its command, and if the means of war were not sufficient, had recourse to the poniards of banditti, and even did not disdain to employ its acknowledged ambassadors as incendiaries. It sought to regain towards the East what it had lost in the three different parts of the world, and Europe would have been in danger, if this power had succeeded in the project which it meditated a long time before, of effecting a junction with the hereditary states of Austria between the Alps and the Adriatic sea. By penetrating into Italy, this power had spread great alarm among the states of this country, and its ambitious projects made all the neigh-

bouring princes tremble for their possessions. The pope, whom the Spanish viceroys enclosed between Naples and Milan, found himself in the most critical position; the republic of Venice was similarly situated between the Austrian Tyrol and Spanish Milan; Savoy was in danger between Milan and France. From this arose the uncertain and equivocal politics of the states of Italy, since Charles V. The double character with which the popes were clothed, kept them in a perpetual hesitation between two systems of conduct entirely opposite to each other. If the successor of St. Peter saw in the princes of Spain his most submissive children, the most intrepid defenders of the pontifical chair, the sovereign of the papal state had to fear in them his most perfidious neighbours, and most dangerous adversaries. If the former had no interest more pressing than to see the Protestants annihilated, and the Austrian arms victorious, the latter had cause to bless the arms of the Protestants, which placed it out of the power of his neighbours to injure him. The popes decided for one party or the other, according as they would have their temporal interest or their spiritual power triumph; but in general, the politics of Rome were determined by the most pressing danger; and it is known how much more the fear of losing a present possession acts upon the mind, than the desire of recovering a property lost a long time back. It is then easy to explain, how the vicegerent of Christ concerted with the house of Austria for the destruction of the heretics, and, on the other hand, how this same vicegerent of Christ concerted with these very heretics for the ruin of the house of Austria. In what a wonderful manner is the thread of history interwoven! What would have become of the reformation, what would have become of the liberty of the

German princes, if the Roman bishop and the prince of Rome had always had but one and the same interest?

France, in losing its most excellent Henry IV. had also lost all its grandeur and all its weight in the political balance of Europe. A stormy minority annihilated all the benefits which the wisdom and the vigour of the preceding reign had produced. Ministers without talents, creatures of favour and intrigue, dissipated in a few years the immense treasures amassed by the economy of Sully, and by the parsimony of Henry IV. Hardly in a situation to defend their tottering authority against interior factions, they must renounce the direction of the affairs of Europe. The same civil war, which had armed Germany against herself, likewise raised France against herself, and the first years of the majority of Louis XIII. were employed to combat his own mother and his Protestant subjects. These, restrained till now by the enlightened politics of Henry IV. aroused, all at once, by the opportunity, and encouraged by some enterprising chiefs, took arms, formed as it were a state within the state, and designed the strong town of Rochelle as the central point of their growing empire. Louis XIII. too little of a statesman to stifle, by a wise tolerance, this civil war in its birth, and likewise too little master of the forces of his kingdom to conduct them with vigour, saw himself reduced to the humiliating necessity of purchasing the submission of the rebels by enormous sums. Although a wise policy made it a pressing duty for him to come to the assistance of the rebels of Bohemia against Austria, the son of Henry IV. saw himself condemned to remain an idle spectator of their disasters, happy enough at this critical moment that the Calvinists of his kingdom did not seek beyond the Rhine, brethren with whom they could

unite. A great genius at the helm of the state would have brought the Protestants of this kingdom to submission, and assured to their brethren in Germany their liberty; but Henry IV. was no more, and Richelieu had not yet revived his system of politics.

While France was descending from the height of her glory, Holland, having become free, was ascending to the summit of her grandeur. The ardent courage which had shone forth in the house of Orange was not yet extinguished, that had transformed this mercantile people into a nation of heroes, and enabled them to maintain their independence in a sanguinary war against the house of Spain.

Remembering how much they owed their freedom to foreign assistance, these republicans burnt with the desire of procuring the same benefit for their brethren in Germany, and their ardour was so much the greater, as they both had to combat the same enemy, and the liberty of Germany would serve as the best bulwark to that of Holland. But a republic which yet fought for its own existence, whose most generous efforts hardly enabled it to resist a superior enemy upon its own soil, could not dispose of forces necessary to its defence, and, yielding to the views of its noble policy, lavish them for the service of foreign states. England likewise, although since aggrandized by Scotland, had lost, under the feeble administration of James I. that influence in Europe which the genius of Elizabeth had acquired it. Convinced that the prosperity of her country depended upon the security of the Protestants, this prudent queen had never departed from the principle to aid every enterprise which had for its end the enfeebling of the Austrian power. Her successor had neither genius enough to perceive this principle, nor sufficient power to follow it up.

While the economical Elizabeth lavished her treasures to support the Netherlands against Spain, and Henry IV. against the fury of the League, James abandoned his daughter, his son-in-law, and his grandson, to the discretion of an implacable conqueror. While this king exhausted his learning to find in heaven the origin of royal power, he allowed all the prerogatives of his own, to escape him on earth. While he employed his eloquence to demonstrate the absolute right of kings, he reminded the English nation of their own rights, and lost, by a useless prodigality, his most important regal power, that of dispensing with the parliament and thus depriving liberty of its organ. A natural dread of an unsheathed sword, intimidated him from engaging in a war, even the most just. His favourite Buckingham sported with his weakness, and the self-complacent vanity of this monarch gave facility to Spanish cunning to deceive him. Whilst his son-in-law was ruined in Germany, and the inheritance of his grandchildren was given away to others, this weak-minded prince listened with self-complacency to the flattery which Austria and Spain lavished upon him. To divert his attention from the war in Germany, they offered him a daughter-in-law at Madrid, and this father, laying aside all dignity, himself equipped his adventurous son, for the romantic scheme with which the latter surprised the Spanish princess. But this spouse escaped his son; as the crown of Bohemia and the electors Bonnet had his son-in-law, and death alone took him from the danger of seeing his pacific reign terminate by a war, merely because he had not had the courage to wage it at a distance. The civil commotions excited by the faults of this prince increased under his unfortunate son, and soon constrained the latter, after some ineffectual

efforts, to renounce every share in the concerns of Germany, to extinguish in his own kingdom the fury of factions, of which he at length became the deplorable victim.

Two kings full of merit, very distant from one another in personal renown, but equally powerful, equally desirous of glory, made at that time the north of Europe respected. Under the long and active reign of Christian IV. Denmark became a considerable power. The personal qualities of this prince, an excellent navy, select troops, well administered finances and political alliances, concurred to render this state flourishing in its interior, and respected abroad. Gustavus Vasa had freed Sweden from vassalage; he had given her, by a wise legislation, a new existence; and had rendered, for the first time, this state worthy of occupying the page of history. What this great prince had only sketched in the rough, was accomplished by Gustavus Adolphus, his grandson, still greater than himself. Both kingdoms, formerly united under one inconsistent monarchy, and enfeebled by this union, were violently separated by the reformation; and this separation was the epoch of their prosperity. In as much as the ancient union had been prejudicial to them, so much the more had harmony and a good understanding been necessary to them since their division. The Protestant church depended equally upon both; they had the same seas to watch, the same interest should have been able to unite them against the common enemy. But the hatred which had caused their dis-union still continued between the divided nations. The kings of Denmark could not entirely abandon their pretensions to the kingdom of Sweden, and Sweden could not forget the former tyranny of the Danes. The immediate neighbourhood of both kingdoms offered, on each side, a per-

petual aliment to the national hatred; the vigilant jealousy of their sovereigns, and the inevitable collision of interests of commerce in the North seas, never allowed the sources of contention to dry up. Of all the means which served Gustavus Vasa, the founder of the Swedish kingdom, to secure upon a firm basis the new kingdom which he had just created, the reformation was without contradiction the most powerful. A fundamental law excluded the adherents of Popery from all places in the administration, and forbade every future sovereign of Sweden to alter the national religion. But Gustavus's second son and successor, John, had already relapsed to Popery; and his son, Sigismund, at the same time king of Poland took such steps as tended to the overthrow of the constitution and the existing religion. The states of the kingdom, having at their head Charles, duke of Sudermania, third son of Gustavus, opposed a spirited resistance to these innovations, which at length produced a civil war between the uncle and nephew, between the king and the nation. Charles, administrator general of the kingdom during the absence of the king, profited of the long residence of Sigismund in Poland, and of the just discontent of the state, to attach the nation in the strongest manner to himself, and to open the way insensibly for his own house to the throne. The imprudent measures of Sigismund contributed not a little to hasten the execution of his project. A general assembly of the states, undertook, in favour of the administrator, to change the right of succession, and lay aside that of primogeniture, which Gustavus Vasa had established, and placed the duke of Sudermania upon the throne, from which Sigismund, and all his posterity, were solemnly excluded. The son of the new king, who governed under the name of Charles IX. was Gustavus

Adolphus, whom the adherents of Sigismund, upon the grounds already mentioned, regarded as an usurper, and would never acknowledge. But, if the obligation between the king and the people is mutual, if states are not to be transmitted from one hand to another as dead merchandize, it may then be lawful to an entire and a unanimous nation to renounce their allegiance to a perjured sovereign, to replace him by one more worthy. Gustavus Adolphus had not yet attained his seventeenth year, when the throne of Sweden became vacant by the death of his father: but the early maturity of his genius determined the states to abridge, in his favour, the time of his minority. It was by a glorious triumph over himself that he began a reign, which was but one continued series of triumphs, and which was terminated by a victory. The young countess of Brahe, a daughter of one of his subjects, had the first attachment of his noble heart, and it was his sincere resolution to make her the partner of his throne. But, constrained by the times and circumstances, he sacrificed his inclination to the higher duties of royalty; and the virtues of a hero soon regained an absolute ascendancy over a heart which the tranquillity of a domestic life was far from being able to satisfy.

Christian IV. of Denmark, who had even before Gustavus's birth, ascended the throne, had already passed the frontiers of Sweden, and gained important advantages over the father of this hero. Gustavus Adolphus hastened to terminate this war, and by wise sacrifices purchased peace, to turn his arms against the czar of Muscovy. The vain renown of a conqueror never induced him to shed the blood of his subjects in unjust wars; but he never receded from a war that was otherwise.—His arms were fortunate against Russia, and the

Swedish kingdom was augmented by several important provinces in the east. In the mean time, Sigismund, king of Poland, who nourished the same sentiments of hatred against the son as he had against the father, neglected no artifice whatever, to shake the fidelity of Gustavus's subjects towards their sovereign, to cool the zeal of his friends, and to increase the resentment of his enemies. Neither the heroical qualities of his opponent, nor the numerous proofs of devotion which the Swedes did not cease to give to their beloved sovereign, could deter that imprudent prince from the vain hope of re-ascending the lost throne. All the propositions for peace which Gustavus made were rejected with disdain. This hero, a friend to peace, saw himself involuntarily drawn into a tedious war with Poland, which, by degrees, ended in all Livonia and Polish Prussia being subjected to the Swedish power. Continually victorious, Gustavus Adolphus was always the first to offer peace. This war between Sweden and Poland took place in the commencement of the Thirty years war in Germany, with which it stands connected. It was sufficient that king Sigismund, a Catholic, disputed the crown of Sweden with a Protestant prince, to assure him of the most energetic support on the part of Spain and Austria; a double relationship with the emperor gave him a still greater right to the protection of this monarch. It was most particularly the confidence, which the king of Poland had in such formidable supports, that engaged him to prosecute a war which declared itself so much to his disadvantage; and the courts of Madrid and Vienna did not fail to animate his courage by the most brilliant promises. Whilst Sigismund lost successively all his places in Livonia, Courland, and Prussia, he saw his ally in Germany hastily marching from

victory to victory, to absolute power. It was not then to be wondered at that his disinclination for peace grew in proportion to his defeats. The ardour with which he pursued his chimerical hopes, shut his eyes to the crafty politics of his ally, who occupied the king of Sweden at his expense, in order to annihilate so much the more surely the liberty of the German empire, and then to take to himself, as an easy conquest, the exhausted North. But a circumstance, upon which they had not reckoned,—the heroic spirit of Gustavus—broke the web of this perfidious policy. This Polish war of eight years, so far from exhausting Sweden, served only to form and develope the warlike genius of Gustavus Adolphus, to exercise by fatigues and continual combats the Swedish armies, and insensibly to bring to perfection the new military art which was soon to perform such prodigies upon the German territory. After this necessary digression upon the political situation of the European states at this time, we now pursue the natural course of events.

Ferdinand had recovered his states, but not the expenses that their conquest had cost him. A sum of forty millions of florins, which the confiscations in Bohemia and Moravia brought him, would have been sufficient to indemnify him and his allies; but this immense sum was soon dissipated in the hands of Jesuits and his favourites. The duke Maximilian of Bavaria, whose victorious arm had almost alone replaced the emperor upon the throne, who had sacrificed one of his nearest relations to his religion and to his emperor, had the most solid claims to his gratitude; and in a treaty before the war, that the duke had concluded with the emperor, it was expressly stipulated, that he should be indemnified for all his expenses.

Ferdinand felt the whole extent of the obligations which this treaty imposed upon him, and the services of the duke; but he was not inclined to fulfil them to his own prejudice. His intention was to recompense the duke in the most brilliant manner, but without despoiling himself. And what way was more just and more natural to fulfil this intention, than to make that prince support the expenses of the war against whom the right of so doing seemed to be justifiable, by the name of lawful chastisement, in all kinds of violence with respect to him? Frederic must therefore be further persecuted, he must be totally ruined in order to recompense Maximilian, and a new war was kindled to pay the expenses of an old one.

But another still more powerful motive joined itself to the first, and strengthened it. Until now, Ferdinand had only combated for his own existence, and fulfilled no other duty than that of self-defence. But, now that victory gave him all freedom of action, he thought of his pretended higher duties, and recollected the vow which he had made at Loretto and Rome to his *Generalissima*, the holy virgin, to extend her veneration at the risk of his crown, and even of his life. The suppression of Protestanism was inseparably united with this vow. Never could more favourable circumstances concur for its accomplishment than now, upon the termination of the Bohemian war. It was in Ferdinand's power to make the palatine countries pass into the hands of a Catholic prince; this resolution had the appearance of justice, and the consequences of this change was of the highest importance for all Catholic Germany. In rewarding the duke of Bavaria with the spoils of his relation, he, at the same time, satisfied his resentment, and fulfilled what he con-

sidered the most holy of duties: he crushed an enemy whom he hated, and spared his avarice a grievous sacrifice, whilst he thought to secure for himself a heavenly crown. The ruin of Frederic was resolved on in the cabinet of the emperor a long time before fortune declared against him ; but it was only after his last reverse, that they ventured to hurl against this prince all the thunders of arbitrary power. A decree of the emperor, which was deficient in all prescribed formalities in similar cases, according to the constitution of the empire, declared the elector, and three other princes who had borne arms for him in Silesia and Bohemia, guilty of the crime of high treason against the Imperial majesty, and, as disturbers of the public peace, it placed them under the ban of the empire, and deprived them of all their dignities and territories.

The execution of this decree against Frederic, that is to say, the taking possession of his states, was, with a similar mockery of the laws of the empire, confided to the crown of Spain, as sovereign of the circle of Burgundy, to the duke of Bavaria, and the League. If the Evangelic Union had been worthy of the name which it bore, and the cause which it defended, the ban of the empire would have found insurmountable obstacles in its execution; but, with such contemptible forces as could hardly make head against the Spaniards in the lower palatinate, it must renounce the hope of combating with success the united troops of the emperor, Bavaria, and the League. The sentence of the ban of the empire pronounced against the elector, detached likewise from his alliance all the Imperial towns, and the princes did not long delay to follow their example. Happy enough in being able to save their own lands, they abandoned

the elector, their former chief, to the resentment of the emperor,—abjured the union, and engaged never any more to renew it. Thus did the German princes shamefully abandon the unfortunate Frederic; Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, submitted to the formidable power of the emperor: a single man, an adventurer, whose only fortune was his sword,—Ernest count Mansfeld, dared to defy, in the town of Pilsen, in Bohemia, the whole power of the emperor. After the battle of Prague, left without assistance by the elector to whom he had devoted his services, even uncertain whether or not Frederic would thank him for his perseverance, he yet held out some time alone against the Imperialists, until the troops, pressed by the want of money, sold the town of Pilsen to the emperor. Not cast down by this event, he was soon after seen in the upper Palatinate, establishing new places for recruiting, to enlist the troops dismissed by the Union. In a short time, he assembled a new army of twenty thousand men under his colours, the more to be dreaded by the countries into which it was about to enter, as plunder was the only means by which it could be maintained. Uncertain on what side this multitude would break in, all the neighbouring bishoprics, whose opulence allured it, were already in the greatest alarm. But, pressed by the duke of Bavaria, who entered into the upper Palatinate as executor of the decree of the emperor, Mansfeld was obliged to evacuate the country. Having, by a happy stratagem, escaped the Bavarian general Tilly, who closely pursued him, he suddenly appeared in the lower Palatinate, and exercised against the bishoprics of the Rhine the severities which he had intended for those of Franconia. Whilst the Imperial Bavarian troops overran Bohemia, the Spanish general Ambrose Spinola, at

the head of a considerable army, made an irruption into the lower Palatinate, which the treaty of Ulm permitted the Union to defend.

But measures were so ill concerted, that one place fell after the other into the hands of the Spaniards, and at last, at the moment when the Union was dissolved, the greatest part of the country remained occupied by Spanish troops. The Spanish general Cordnba, who took the command of these troops after the retreat of Spinola, hearing of the entry of Mansfeld into the lower Palatinate, immediately raised the siege of Frankenthal. But Mansfeld, instead of chasing the Spaniards from this province, hastened to pass the Rhine to refresh his necessitated troops in Alsace. All the open countries traversed by these devastating bands became frightful deserts, and the towns were only exempted from plunder by giving enormous sums. Strengthened by this expedition, Mansfeld shewed himself again upon the Rhine, to cover the lower Palatinate. So long as such an arm combated for Frederic, this prince was not lost without resource; new prospects opened themselves to his view, and misfortunes raised in his favour friends, who had kept silent during his prosperity. King James of England, who had seen the crown of Bohemia escape his son-in-law with indifference, aroused from his inactivity when he beheld the danger which menaced the existence of his daughter and his grandchildren, and the victorious enemy attempting to attack the electorate. He, however, too late opened his treasures, and hastened to furnish assistance in men as well as money; at first to the Union, which at that time defended the lower Palatinate, and afterwards to Mansfeld. He also pressed Christian, king of Denmark, his near relation, to act with energy. The truce, being

terminated between Spain and Holland, deprived at the same time the emperor of the re-enforcements which he had expected from the Netherlands. Much more important succours to the elector palatine came from Hungary and Transylvania. The armistice concluded between Gabor and the emperor had hardly expired, when this ancient and implacable enemy of Austria overran Hungary with his troops again, and caused himself to be crowned king at Presburg. His progress was so rapid, that Bucquoi was obliged to abandon Bohemia, in order to defend Hungary and Austria against him.

This brave general met with his death at the siege of Neuhausel; Dampierre, equally as brave, had already terminated his life at the siege of Presburg. Gabor penetrated to the Austrian frontiers without obstacle; the old count Thurn, and several exiled Bohemians, had joined their resentments and their arms to those of the prince of Transylvania. A vigorous attack on the side of Germany, while Gabor pressed the emperor in Hungary, would quickly have re-established Frederic's fortune; but it always happened that the Bohemians and Germans had laid down their arms when Gabor entered upon his campaign, and he himself was always exhausted whenever the others began to act. In the mean time, Frederic had not neglected to throw himself into the arms of Mansfeld, his new defender. This prince arrived disguised in the lower Palatinate, for which Mansfeld and the Bavarian general Tilly were contending; the upper Palatinate had long since submitted: a ray of hope appeared, when new friends arose from the wreck of the Union, and declared themselves in his favour. George Frederic, margrave of Baden, one of the former members of the Union, had for some time begun to assemble a military force, which soon increased to a con-

siderable army. No one knew the destination of it, when suddenly it appeared in the field, and joined count Mansfeld. Before commencing the war, he had ceded his states to his son: he hoped, by this artifice, to save them from the vengeance of the emperor, if fortune should not favour him in his enterprise. The duke of Wirtemberg also augmented his military forces. These different circumstances animated the courage of the elector palatine, who made all his efforts to re-establish the Union. It was now time for Tilly to think of his own safety; and in the greatest haste he called the troops of the Spanish general Corduba to his assistance. But, whilst the enemy united his forces, Mansfeld and the margrave of Baden separated, and the latter was beaten by the Bavarian general at Wimpfen, (1622.) An adventurer without money, the legitimacy of whose birth was even disputed, had declared himself the defender of a king, whom one of his nearest relations had driven from the throne, and who was deserted by his father-in-law. A reigning prince abandoned the peaceful government of his states, to risk the uncertain chance of war, for another who was a stranger to him. A new adventurer, poor in territory, but rich in glorious ancestors, undertook, after him, the defence of a cause which he despaired of succeeding in. Christian, duke of Brunswick, administrator of Halberstadt, believed he had learned of the count Mansfeld the secret of supporting, without money, an army of twenty thousand men. Led on by juvenile presumption, burning with the desire of acquiring himself a name at the expense of the Catholic clergy, whom he heartily detested, and to enrich himself with their spoils, he assembled a considerable army in Lower Saxony, under the pretext of defending Frederic and the German liberty. *The friend of God and the*

enemy of Priesthood was the device stamped upon his coin, made of church plate, and which device he did not dishonour by his subsequent actions.

The way that this band of robbers took was marked, as usual, by the most horrible devastations. By the pillaging of the monasteries of Lower Saxony and Westphalia, they acquired new strength to plunder the bishoprics of the Upper Rhine. Driven from thence both by friends and enemies, the administrator approached the Mayence town of Hoechst, upon the Mayn, and passed this river after a murderous combat with Tilly, who opposed his passage. With the loss of half his army, he obtained the opposite side of the river, where he rallied the troops that were still left, and joined count Mansfeld. Pursued by Tilly, these united forces threw themselves a second time into Alsace, and there finished the devastations which had escaped them the first time. Whilst the elector Frederic wandered as a fugitive mendicant, with an army that acknowledged him for its sovereign, and honoured itself with his name, his friends were occupied in effecting his reconciliation with the emperor. Ferdinand would not take from them all hope of seeing the elector palatine re-established in his states. Full of artifice and dissimulation, he shewed himself disposed to listen to negociations, in the hope of relaxing their zeal in the campaign, and preventing extremities.

King James, the dupe of Austrian craft, as usual, contributed not a little, by his unwise interference, to assure the success of the emperor's measures. First of all, Ferdinand desired that Frederic should lay down his arms, if he appealed to his clemency; and James found this demand very reasonable. At his command, the elector

dismissed his only true defenders, count Mansfeld and the administrator, and awaited his fate in Holland from the emperor's mercy. Mansfeld and duke Christian were only embarrassed as to the new name they should borrow; it was not for the cause of Frederic they had taken up arms, therefore his dismission could not disarm them. War was their aim, indifferent for whose cause they fought.—After count Mansfeld had made a vain endeavour to enter into the service of the emperor, they both marched towards Lorrain, where the excesses which their troops committed excited terror even in the heart of France. They waited there some time in vain for a master willing to pay them, when the Dutch, pressed by general Spinola, offered them employment. After a bloody battle at Fleurus with the Spaniards, who endeavoured to intercept their passage, they arrived in Holland; where their appearance immediately forced the Spanish general to raise the siege of Bergen-op-zoom. But Holland also was soon tired of these unwelcome guests, and profited of the first moments of calm to rid itself of their dangerous assistance. Mansfeld sent his troops into the rich province of East Friesland, where they prepared themselves for new exploits. Duke Christian, greatly enamoured of the palatine countess, whom he had known in Holland, and a more ardent warrior than ever, led back his troops to Lower Saxony, with the glove of this princess upon his hat, and the device upon his standards: "*All for God and her.*" Both these men were far from having terminated their career in this war. All the Imperial territories were now freed from enemies; the Union was dissolved, the margrave of Baden, count Mansfeld, and duke Christian, were driven out of the field, and the palatinate was overrun by the troops

destined to the execution of the Imperial decree. The Bavarians had rendered themselves masters of Manheim and Heidelberg, and soon after the Spaniards obtained possession of Frankenthal. The elector waited in a corner of Holland for the humiliating permission of throwing himself at the feet of the emperor to obtain his pardon; and a kind of diet, held at Ratisbon, was at last to determine his fate. This was a long time ago decided at the emperor's court, but it was not till now that circumstances permitted this grand decision to come to light. After all that had passed between Ferdinand and Frederic, the former henceforth regarded a sincere reconciliation as impossible. It was only by going to extremities that they thought of avoiding dangers. All that was lost must therefore remain so; Frederic must not be permitted to recover his states; and a prince, without territory and without subjects, could no longer possess the electoral dignity. But if the elector palatine had incurred the hatred of Austria by his conduct, the duke of Bavaria, on the contrary, had acquired the most incontestable rights to his gratitude. In as much as Austria and the Catholic Church had every thing to dread from the vengeance and the violent hatred of the palatine house, so much also on the contrary, had they every thing to hope for, from the gratitude of the duke of Bavaria, and from his zeal for religion. Finally, in transferring to the elector of Bavaria the palatine electoral crown, they assured to the Catholic religion the most decisive preponderance in the college o electors, and a lasting triumph in Germany. This last motive was enough to render the three ecclesiastical princes favourable to this innovation; among the Protestant princes, the voice of the elector of Saxony was alone important. But could John George dispute with the

emperor a right, without which, that which he had himself to the electorate of Saxony became doubtful? To a prince indeed, that descent, dignities, and power, placed at the head of the Protestant Church of Germany, nothing ought to have been, as it would appear, more sacred than the defending the rights of this same church against the enterprises of the Catholics; but the question, at this moment, was not so much to know how they should conciliate the interests of the Protestants and the Catholics, as to know which of the two religions, equally detested, the Calvinist or the Catholic, should obtain the superiority; to which of the two enemies, equally disliked, they should adjudge the palatinate; and drawn from one side to the other, by such opposite duties, it was but too likely that they should listen to the voice of hatred and private advantage. The natural protector of the German liberty and of the Protestant religion animated the emperor to proceed in an absolute manner against the palatinate, without disquieting himself in any way with the opposition, that, on account of form, Saxony would make to the execution of his measures.

If John George, in the sequel, withheld his consent, it was Ferdinand himself who gave cause for it, in chasing the Protestant ministers out of Bohemia: besides the investiture of the palatinate, conferred upon the elector of Bavaria, ceased to be an illegal act so soon as the emperor had consented to cede Lusatia to the elector of Saxony, in payment of six millions of florins which were due to him for the expenses of the war.

Ferdinand therefore gave solemnly, at Ratisbon, the investiture of the palatinate electorate to the duke of Bavaria, in spite of the opposition of all the Protestants of Germany, and in contempt of the fundamental laws of

the empire, which he had sworn to maintain at the time of his election, nevertheless, as was said, the act was to be without prejudice to the rights, that the relations and descendants of Frederic might assert.

This unfortunate prince now saw himself irrevocably despoiled of his states, without having been heard by the tribunal which condemned him, a justice that the law allows to the lowest subject as well as to the vilest criminal. This violent step opened, at last, the eyes of the king of England; and the negociations relative to the marriage of his son with a Spanish princess having been broken off at this very period, he, at length, seriously espoused the part of his son-in-law.

A change in the French ministry had placed Cardinal Richelieu at the head of affairs; and this kingdom, fallen into the most profound abasement, soon began to feel that a vigorous hand guided the helm of the state. The movements of the Spanish governor in Milan, to obtain possession of the Valteline, and to establish there a communication with the hereditary states of Austria, awakened again the ancient dread of this power, and with it the politics of Henry the Great. A marriage of the prince of Wales with Henrietta of France formed a closer alliance between the crowns of England and France, to which Holland, Denmark, and some of the Italian states, acceded. The project was formed to force Spain by arms to restore the Valteline, and Austria to re-establish Frederic in his states; but their activity was only shewn for the execution of the first part of this plan. James I. died, and Charles I. in contention with his parliament, could no longer pay any attention to the affairs of Germany. Savoy and Venice withheld their assistance, and the French minister thought it his duty to bring to sub-

mission the Huguenots of his own country, before he dared venture to protect the Protestants of Germany against the emperor. However great were the hopes which were entertained from this alliance, the result corresponded but little with them.

Count Mansfeld, deprived of all succour, remained inactive upon the lower Rhine, and Christian, duke of Brunswick, after an unfortunate campaign, saw himself again chased from the German territory.

A new irruption of Bethlen Gabor into Moravia was as fruitless as all the former, because he was not seconded on the German side; and was terminated by a formal peace with the emperor. The Union no longer existed, no longer was any Protestant prince under arms, and the Bavarian general Tilly, at the head of a victorious army, established himself upon the frontiers of Lower Germany, upon the Protestant territory. The movements of the duke of Brunswick had drawn him into this country; he had even penetrated into the circle of Lower Saxony, where he possessed himself of Lipstadt, the military depôt of the administrator. The necessity of watching this enemy and of preventing him from making any new attack, was still to justify the stay of Tilly in this country. But Mansfeld and Christian had disbanded their army for want of money, and count Tilly's army had no enemy any longer to combat. For what purpose was the army then still a burden to the country in which it remained? It is difficult to distinguish the truth, amid the cries and fury of parties; but it is easy to conceive the apprehensions which the League created by remaining in arms. The premature joy of the Catholics must add to these apprehensions. The emperor and the League were armed and victorious in Germany, and could, with impunity, at-

tack the Protestant states, or even overthrow the peace of religion; they saw no enemy around capable of resisting them. If Ferdinand actually had not had the inclination to abuse the rights of victory, the feeble situation of the Protestants must give him the first idea of so doing.

Obsolete treaties could no longer serve as a restraint to a prince who thought all his duties should be directed to his religion, and who regarded, as a sacred action, every violence exercised in its name. Upper Germany had submitted, and Lower Germany alone could yet stand in his way to absolute power. Here the Protestants were the strongest; it was here that the most part of the ecclesiastical establishments had been taken from the Roman Church, and the period now appeared to be arrived when this church was to recover its ancient possessions. These chapters, seized by the princes of Lower Germany, did not form the least part of their power, and the obliging them to restore them to the Catholic Church furnished, at the same time, an excellent pretext to weaken these princes.

In so perilous a situation, inaction on the part of the Protestants would have been an unpardonable errour. The recollection of the ravages exercised by Tilly's army in Lower Saxony was still too recent not to urge the states of that country to take immediate measures for their self-defence. The circle of Lower Saxony armed itself with all possible expedition.

Extraordinary contributions were raised, troops enlisted, and the magazines were replenished. Negociations for subsidies were entered into with Venice, Holland, and England. It was deliberated which power should be placed at the head of this alliance. The monarchs, sovereigns of the Sound and of the Baltic sea, the natu-

ral allies of this circle, could not behold with indifference the emperor rendering himself master of it, and become their neighbour upon the coasts of the North sea. The double interest of religion and policy called upon them to put a stop to the progress of this monarch in Lower Germany. Christian IV. king of Denmark, was himself a member of the states of this circle, in his quality of duke of Holstein; equally strong motives urged Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to take a part in this alliance. Both kings shewed an emulation to have the honour of defending the circle of Lower Saxony, and of combating the formidable Austrian power. Each of them offered to place a well-equipped army on foot, and to conduct it in person. Glorious campaigns against Muscovy and Poland gave energy to the promises of the king of Sweden; the entire coast of the Baltic sea was filled with the name of Gustavus Adolphus. But the king of Denmark could not bear the renown of this rival, and the more laurels he promised himself in this campaign, the less could he prevail upon himself to let, without envy, his neighbour acquire them. Both submitted their offers and their conditions to the English ministry, and Christian IV. at last had the ascendancy.

Gustavus Adolphus demanded for his safety the occupation of some strong places in Germany, where he did not possess an inch of territory, to assure to his troops the necessary retreat in case of need.

Christian IV. in the event of losing a battle, could retire by Holstein and Jutland, which countries he possessed. The king of Denmark, to gain ground of his rival, hastened to appear in the field. Named chief of the circle of Lower Saxony, he soon had on foot an army of sixty

thousand men; the administrator of Magdeburg, the dukes of Brunswick and Mechlenburg, joined him.

The support with which England had flattered him raised his courage, and, prepared with such forces, he did not doubt that he should terminate this war in a single campaign. They wrote to Vienna, that this armament had for its object only the defence of the Circle, and that of maintaining the tranquillity of the country. But the negociations with Holland, with England, and even France, the extraordinary efforts of the Circle, and the formidable army which they placed on foot, announced any other end than that of mere defence; all seemed to aim at a total re-establishment of the elector palatine and the humiliation of the emperor, who had become too powerful.

After the emperor had in vain employed negociations, remonstrances, threats, and even commands, to the king of Denmark and the Circle of Lower Saxony, to lay down their arms, hostilities commenced, and Lower Germany now became the theatre of the war. Count Tilly followed the left bank of the Weser, and obtained possession of all the defiles as far as Minden; after an ineffectual attack upon Nienburg, and after passing the Weser, he overran the principality of Calenberg, and occupied it with his troops. The king, who manœuvred upon the right bank of the Weser, extended himself into the country of Brunswick. But he had so considerably weakened his army by detachments sent in advance, that he could not execute any thing of importance with it. Convinced of the superiority of his opponent, he as carefully avoided a decisive battle as the commander of the League sought for one. Hitherto the emperor had only combated in Germany, with the arms of Bavaria and those of the League, if the auxiliary Spanish troops of

the Netherlands are excepted, which invaded the Lower Palatinate.

—Maximilian conducted the war as commander-in-chief of the army of execution of the emperor's decree, and Tilly, who had the command of this army, was a Bavarian officer. The emperor was indebted for all his superiority in the field to the arms of Bavaria and the League; these then had his entire fortune in their hands, even to the extent of his authority.

This dependence upon the good will of Bavaria and the League did not correspond with the vast projects which his brilliant commencement inspired at the Imperial court.—

So ready as the League had been to undertake the defence of the emperor, to which their own safety was attached, as little was it to be expected, that they should extend their readiness to favour his ambitious plans, or if they lent their armies for future conquests, it was to be feared their only object, in partaking the universal hatred with him, was but to reap alone all the fruits of the war. —Nothing but a considerable force furnished by himself could deliver him from this painful dependence upon Bavaria, and help him to preserve the superiority which he had till now maintained in Germany.

But the war had too much exhausted the Imperial states, to hope that they would be sufficient to furnish the immense means for such preparations; under these circumstances, nothing could be more welcome to the emperor than the proposal with which one of his officers surprised him. It was count Wallenstein, a most deserving officer, and the richest nobleman in Bohemia. He had served the Imperial house from his earliest youth, and had distinguished himself in the most signal manner in several

campaigns against the Turks, Venetians, Bohemians, and Transylvanians.

"A colonel at the battle of Prague, he had since beaten, as major general, a Hungarian army in Moravia. The gratitude of the emperor kept pace with these services, and a considerable part of the confiscated property of the rebels in Bohemia was his reward. In possession of an immense fortune, his head, heated by ambitious projects, full of confidence in his fortunate stars, and still more so upon a serious calculation of circumstances, he offered the emperor, to raise, equip, and perfectly clothe, an army at his own expense and that of his friends; he even offered to undertake the payment thereof, if he would permit him to raise it to 50,000 men. All ridiculed this extravagant offer, which they considered as nothing but the chimerical project of an exalted head; but supposing that a part of the promise could be realized, it merited the trial. Some districts of Bohemia were then given up to him to establish recruiting places, and he was besides granted the permission of appointing the officers.

In a few months he had 20,000 men under arms, with whom he quitted the frontiers of Austria; he soon appeared with 30,000 combatants upon those of Lower Saxony. The emperor had given to the whole of this armament nothing but his name. The renown of the general, the prospect of a quick and honourable promotion, and the hope of booty, attracted to his standards a crowd of adventurers from all the countries of Germany, and even sovereign princes, led away by the desire of glory, or that of gain, now offered to raise regiments for the Austrian service. †Now, therefore, for the first time in this war, an Imperial army appeared in Germany, an event full of terror to the Protestants; but which was not the less so to the

Catholics. Wallenstein had orders to join his troops to those of the League, and to attack, in concert with the Bavarian general, the king of Denmark. But, for a long while jealous of Tilly's military reputation, he did not shew himself disposed either to partake with him the laurels of this campaign, or to suffer that his own glory should be eclipsed by the splendour of Tilly's deeds. In truth, his plan of campaign supported the operations of this general; but he kept himself entirely independent of him.

As he was deprived of the resources by which Tilly maintained his army, he was obliged to conduct his troops into fertile countries, which had not yet suffered by the war. Without therefore uniting himself, as he had been ordered, to the general of the League, he invaded the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and made himself master of the Elbe, at Dessau. All the countries on both sides this river now lay open to his contributions; he could from thence fall upon the king of Denmark's rear, and even, if it were necessary, open a passage to the lands of that sovereign.

Christian IV. placed between these two formidable armies, felt all the danger of his position. He had already caused himself to be joined by the administrator of Halberstadt who had recently arrived from Holland; he now openly declared himself for count Mansfeld, whom he had hitherto disowned, and supported him as much as lay in his power. Mansfeld acknowledged this service in the most signal manner. He alone occupied all the forces of Wallenstein upon the Elbe, and prevented his junction with Tilly, for the purpose of crushing the king's army. This brave general had even the boldness to advance, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, to

the bridge of Dessau, where he constructed redoubts in face of those of the Imperialists. But, attacked in his rear by all Wallenstein's forces, he was obliged to yield to an enemy too superior, and abandon his positions, after having experienced a loss of three thousand men. After this defeat, Mansfeld retired into the march of Brandenburg; where, soon re-enforced by new troops, he suddenly directed his route towards Silesia, from thence to penetrate into Hungary, and, in conjunction with Bethlen Gabor, to carry the war into the heart of the Austrian states. As the hereditary states of Austria were not in a state to resist such an enemy, Wallenstein received immediate orders to leave the king of Denmark for the present, and hasten to intercept Mansfeld, if possible, in his march through Silesia.

The diversion which Mansfeld made in Wallenstein's army, permitted the king to send a part of his army into Westphalia, there to take possession of the bishoprics of Munster and Osnaburg. To prevent this, Tilly hastily abandoned the Weser; but the movements of the duke Christian, who threatened to penetrate by Hesse into the territories of the League, there to carry on the war, quickly recalled him from Westphalia. In order to avoid being cut off from these territories, and to prevent a dangerous junction of the landgrave of Hesse with the enemy, Tilly quickly hastened to obtain possession of all the places that were tenable upon the Werrha and the Fulda; he at the same time assured himself of the city of Munster, situated at the entrance of the Hessian mountains, where both these rivers flow into the Weser. He in a short time rendered himself master of Gottingen, the key of the countries of Brunswick and Hesse, and had

the same project upon Nordheim; to prevent this, however, the king hastily advanced with his whole army.

After the latter had provided this place with every thing that was necessary to sustain a long siege, he sought to open himself a new passage by Eichsfeld and Thuringia, to penetrate into the territories of the League. He had already got beyond Duderstadt, but Count Tilly by forced marches gained the advance of him. As the army of the latter had been re-enforced by some of Wallenstein's regiments, and was far superior in numbers, the king, to avoid a battle, retired towards Brunswick.

But Tilly pursued him on his retreat incessantly, and, after three days skirmishing, the king at last was obliged to make a stand against the enemy at the village of Lutter, on Barenberg. The Danes commenced the attack with the greatest bravery, and three times their valorous king led them to the charge, but at length he was forced to yield to an enemy superior in numbers and better disciplined, and the General of the League gained a complete victory. Sixty standards, and the whole of the artillery, baggage, and ammunition, fell into his hands; many officers of distinction, and about four thousand soldiers, remained upon the field of battle: several companies of infantry, who, during the flight, had taken refuge in the Town House of Lutter, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves to the conqueror.

The king fled with his cavalry, and soon after this severe blow collected the remains of his army. Tilly pursued his victory, made himself master of the Weser and of the territory of Brunswick, and forced the king back to the territory of Bremen. Rendered more cautious by his defeat, the latter would only act defensively, nevertheless he sought particularly to oppose the passage of the enemy

over the Elbe. But, as he had placed garrisons in all the places that were tenable, he remained inactive with forces thus divided; the detached corps weresuccessively either dispersed or destroyed by the enemy. The troops of the League, masters of all the Weser, extended themselves beyond the Elbe and the Havel, and the Danes were driven from all their positions.

Tilly himself passed the Elbe, and pushed his victorious arms even into the territories of Brandenburg, whilst Wallenstein penetrated on another side by Holstein, to carry the war even into the states of the king himself. This general was returned from Hungary, where he had pursued Count Mansfeld, without being able to arrest his march, or to prevent his junction with Bethlen Gabor.—Always persecuted by fortune, and always superior to it, Mansfeld had traversed Silesia and Hungary in the midst of the greatest difficulties, and joined himself to the Prince of Transylvania, to whom, however, he was not very welcome. Relying upon succours from England, and hoping for a powerful diversion in Lower Saxony, Gabor had once more broken the truce with the emperor; and, instead of this expected diversion, Mansfeld now brought upon him the whole of Wallenstein's army; and, instead of bringing him money, demanded it of him. This want of harmony among the Protestant Princes cooled Gabor's zeal, and he hastened, as usual, to deliver himself by a precipitate peace from the superior forces of the emperor; firmly resolved, however, to break it again upon the first ray of hope, he directed Mansfeld to procure money above all things, and for such purpose to address himself to the republic of Venice. Cut off from all communication with Germany, and not in a state to support even the weak re-

mains of his troops in Hungary, Mansfeld sold his artillery and his war equipage, and disbanded his army.

He himself, with a small train of attendants, passed through Bosnia and Dalmatia towards Venice; new projects enflamed his courage, but his career was terminated. Fate, that had so much sported with him during life, prepared a grave for him in Dalmatia. Death surprised him not far from Zara in the year 1626.* A short time before died his faithful companion in arms, Christian, Duke of Brunswick: two men worthy of immortality, had they risen as much above their age as they were superior to their fate. The King of Denmark with all his forces had not been able to resist Tilly alone; how could he now oppose two of the emperor's generals with an enfeebled army?

The Danes therefore abandoned all their positions upon the Weser, the Elbe, and the Havel, and Wallenstein's army spread itself like a torrent over Brandenburg, Mechlenburg, Holstein, and Schlesburg. This general, far too proud to act in concert with a colleague, had sent Tilly beyond the Elbe under the pretext of observing the Dutch, but in truth with the secret intention of terminating the war with the king, and to reap alone the fruits of Tilly's victories.

* The death of this extraordinary man presents a singularity worthy of his life.—Prepared for death for some time, when he perceived its approach he caused himself to be dressed in his uniform, and his sword girded by his side. He desired his remaining officers to be collected, between two of whom he was supported upright; he then harangued them, as if he wished to transfuse into their bosoms that intrepidity which had always animated his own. He conjured them to continue to signalize themselves in battle, and die gloriously. In this manner and posture he expired.—He died in his forty-sixth year, and was buried in Spalatro.

Christian had lost all his strong places in Germany, with the exception of Gluckstadt; his armies were beaten or dispersed; he had no assistance to expect from Germany, and little consolation from England; and his allies, in Lower Saxony, were given up to all the resentment of the conqueror.

Immediately after the battle of Lutter, Tilly had obliged the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel to abandon the Danish alliance. The alarming appearance of Wallenstein before Berlin brought the Elector of Brandenburg to submission, and constrained him to acknowledge Maximilian the lawful Elector of Bavaria. The greatest part of Mechlenburg was now overrun by the Imperialists, and both Dukes, as partisans of the King of Denmark, were declared to be under the ban of the empire, and driven from their states. It was considered as a crime to have defended the liberty of Germany against the most unjust encroachments, and this crime brought with it the loss of states and all dignities. And yet such conduct was only the prelude to much more terrible violences, which were soon to follow.

Now Wallenstein's secret came to light, as to the manner in which he intended to fulfil his extravagant promises. He had learned the art of Count Mansfeld, but the pupil surpassed his master. Upon the principle that war must support war, Mansfeld and the Duke Christian had provided for the wants of their troops by contributions levied without distinction both upon friends and enemies; but this rapacious sort of existence was accompanied by all the calamities and dangers attached to the life of robbers. Like fugitive thieves they were obliged to steal their way through a vigilant and irritated enemy, to fly from one extremity of Germany to the other, to watch

anxiously for their opportunities, and to avoid the richest countries, as they were defended by a stronger power. But if Mansfeld and Duke Christian, combating against so many obstacles, had performed prodigies, what might they then not expect when all these obstacles had disappeared? If the army that they should place on foot should be sufficiently numerous to make the most powerful state in Germany tremble, if standing alone, if the name of the emperor sanctioned all arbitrary acts; in short, when, under the first authority of the empire, and at the head of a formidable army, they should pursue the plan that these two adventurers had been able to execute at their own peril, and with a band of fugitive vagabonds.

It was this that Wallenstein had in view when he made his bold proposition to the emperor, and now no one any longer found any thing in it surprising. The more the army re-enforced itself, the less anxiety there was in providing for it, as then it so much the more increased the terror of the states which would have been able to oppose resistance thereto: the more revolting the violences were which they committed, the more they could exercise them with impunity.

They had an appearance of justice when directed against the states of the empire, which evinced inimical dispositions, and when they were committed against their allies they might be excused under the pretext of necessity.—This oppression, exercised in an unequal manner, prevented a dangerous union among the princes; the exhaustion of their states at the same time took from them the means of revenging them.

All Germany thus became a vast magazine to the emperor's armies, who could from this time dispose of the whole German territory as he could of his own hereditary

states. The cry for justice was universal to the throne of the emperor; but so long as the abused princes demanded justice, they had nothing to dread from their vengeance.

The emperor partook of the general hatred, who lent his name to all these cruelties with the general, who exceeded his services, and so openly abused the authority of his master.

They addressed themselves to the emperor, to obtain protection against his general; but, as soon as Wallenstein saw himself all-powerful at the head of his troops, he threw off his dependence upon his sovereign. The exhausted situation of the enemy gave room to expect a peace nearly at hand; however Wallenstein still continued to re-enforce the Imperial army, till at last it amounted to a hundred thousand men. The colonels' and other officers' commissions, which he granted without number; the royal pomp of the general; the excessive prodigality towards his creatures, (he never gave less than a thousand florins,) the immense sums employed to corrupt the court of the emperor to maintain his influence there; all this was done without burdening his master. These enormous expences were drawn from the contributions levied in the provinces of Lower Germany; no distinction was made between friend and enemy, marches, arbitrary cantonments alike in all the sovereign lands, every where the same exactions, the same violence.

If credit may be given to a loose calculation made at that period, Wallenstein, during the space of seven years that he held the command, raised no less than sixty millions of dollars in contributions upon one half of Germany.

The more enormous the exactions, the better was his army provided for, and the more eagerly people hastened to his standards; all the world flew to partake of his for-

tune. His army increased whilst all the countries which it traversed fell into a state of decay. What signified to him the maledictions of the provinces, and the lamentations of the princes? The soldiers adored him, and crime itself enabled him to laugh at its consequences.

It would be unjust to impute to the emperor all the disorders of which his armies were guilty.

If Ferdinand had been able to perceive that all the states of Germany would become the prey of his general, he would, without doubt, have been sensible of the danger he was incurring by investing Wallenstein with such unlimited power. The closer the tie that united the army with the general, from whom alone all fortune, all advancement, emanated, the more must that which attached the army to the emperor relax. Indeed, every thing was done in the name of Ferdinand; but Wallenstein employed the majesty of the supreme head of the empire only the easier to destroy all other authority in Germany. Hence arose the principle that he had adopted, manifestly to humble the princes of the empire, to destroy all gradations of rank between the latter and the emperor, and give to the Imperial authority an extension without bounds. Were the emperor the only dispenser of law in Germany, what could then control this vizier, to whom he entrusted the execution of his orders?

The elevation to which Wallenstein raised his monarch surprised even the emperor himself; but, as this grandeur of the master was the work of his servant, this creation of Wallenstein's would entirely cease, and again fall into insignificance, as soon as its founder's support was withdrawn. It was not without a design that Wallenstein excited the minds of all the princes of Germany against the emperor. The more violent their hatred towards Fer-

dinand, the more indispensable must he be who alone could protect him against their indignation. He evidently aspired to this last degree of power, that his master should have no longer any one to dread in all Germany than him alone, to whom he owed this unbounded sway.

One step towards this aim was to demand the dutchy of Mechlenburg as a provisional pledge for all the advances which he had made for the emperor in the preceding campaign, and until they were refunded. Ferdinand had already, with the intention, no doubt, of distinguishing him above the Bavarian general, conferred upon him the title of Duke of Friedland; but an ordinary recompense could not satisfy Wallenstein's ambition.

In vain were many voices even in the council of the emperor raised against the concession of a favour which was to be granted at the expense of the princes of the empire; in vain even the Spaniards, some time offended by his pride, made opposition to his elevation. The powerful party which Wallenstein's money had purchased among the counsellors of the emperor prevailed. Ferdinand would at any rate attach a servant to him whom he regarded as indispensable.

For a slight fault he caused the descendants of one of the most ancient reigning houses in Germany to be excluded from their inheritance, in order to invest an Imperial favourite with their spoils. (1628.) Soon after Wallenstein assumed the title of Imperial Generalissimo by Sea and Land. The town of Wismar was taken, and firm footing was obtained on the coasts of the Baltic Sea.—They demanded of Poland and the Hanseatic towns, vessels to carry the war beyond this sea, to pursue the Danes into the interior of their country, and obtain a peace, which was to lead to greater conquests. The relations

which united the states of Lower Germany with the kingdoms of the north were broken, if the emperor succeeded in placing himself between them, and in surrounding Germany from the Adriatic Sea to the Sound (Poland, an intermediate power, was dependent upon him) by an uninterrupted chain of states under his power.

If this was the emperor's plan, Wallenstein had also his private views for pursuing the same.

Possessions on the Baltic sea would furnish him with the bases of a power of which his ambition had for a long time formed the idea, and which would enable him to become independent of his master. To obtain this end, it was of the highest importance to get possession of the town of Stralsund, upon the Baltic Sea; its excellent harbour, its proximity to the coasts of Sweden and Denmark, rendered it particularly desirable as an arsenal in a war against these two powers.

This town, the sixth in the Hanseatic League, enjoyed, under the protection of the Duke of Pomerania, most important privileges, and, not having any connexion with Denmark, had not hitherto taken any part whatever in the war. But neither its neuterality nor its privileges could protect it against the pretensions of Wallenstein, whose views were directed upon it. The magistrate of Stralsund had rejected with the most laudable firmness the proposition which this general made to him to receive an Imperial garrison; he had equally rejected the insidious demand that had been made to furnish a free passage to his troops. Wallenstein now, therefore, prepared to besiege the town. It was equally important to the two northern monarchs to protect the independence of Stralsund, without which the free navigation of the Baltic could not be maintained.

The common danger at length triumphed over the private jealousy which had divided, for a long time, these two sovereigns. In a treaty concluded at Copenhagen, in 1628, they agreed to unite their forces for the defence of Stralsund, and to combat in concert any foreign power that should threaten the Baltic. Christian IV. immediately threw an adequate garrison into Stralsund, and by his presence there strengthened the courage of the inhabitants. Some ships of war, which Sigismund, king of Poland, sent to the assistance of the emperor's general, were sunk by the Danish fleet; and the town of Lubeck having refused their vessels, this Imperial generalissimo of the sea had not even ships enough to blockade a single port. Nothing appeared to be more ridiculous than to endeavour to render himself master of a maritime place, fortified on all sides, when he could not even blockade its harbour. Wallenstein, who had hitherto experienced no resistance, wished here even to overcome nature, and perform impossibilities. Stralsund, open towards the sea, continued to receive provisions, and its garrison was re-enforced by new troops; Wallenstein did not the less fail to invest it by land, and sought by pompous threatenings to repair the want of the real means which he required. "I will take this town," said he, "though it were fastened by chains to heaven." The emperor himself, who was perhaps not without repenting of an enterprise from which he did not expect any glorious issue, seized with eagerness the first appearance of submission which the inhabitants testified, immediately to give orders to his general to abandon the siege.

Wallenstein despised this order, and continued to harass the town by repeated assaults. The Danish garrison was already considerably diminished, and, as the fatigue

of carrying on the defence was become too great for the remainder of it, and the king of Denmark found it inconvenient to re-enforce the troops which defended the town, in this situation, Stralsund, by the consent of Christian, threw itself into the arms of the king of Sweden. The Danish commander gave up the fortress to a Swedish officer, who defended it with the greatest success. Wallenstein's fortune failed him before this town; and for the first time his pride experienced the hard humiliation of being obliged to renounce his enterprise, after a loss of many months, and a sacrifice of 12,000 men. But the necessity under which he had put this town to have recourse to the protection of Sweden, caused a close alliance between Gustavus Adolphus and Stralsund, which very much, in the sequel, facilitated the entrance of the Swedes into Germany.

Until now fortune had favoured the arms of the League and the emperor, and Christian IV. vanquished in Germany, was constrained to shut himself up in his islands; but the Baltic sea had placed bounds to these successes. The want of vessels not only prevented the conqueror from pursuing the king, but even exposed him to the danger of losing the conquests he had made. The union of the two Northern monarchs was peculiarly to be feared, because, if they acted with firmness, they took from the emperor and his general all possibility of acting a part upon the Baltic sea, or even of making a descent upon Sweden.

If, on the contrary, they succeeded in dividing these two princes, and could assure themselves in particular of the friendship of the king of Denmark, they might hope that the conquest of Sweden would be rendered so much the more easy, deprived of its ally. The fear which

the emperor had of the intermeddling of foreign powers, the seditious movements of the Protestants in his own states, the enormous expenses of the war to this period; and, still more than all this, the storm which threatened to break out in all Protestant Germany, disposed the emperor to a peace; and his general, animated by quite different views, exerted all his zeal to fulfil his wish. Far from desiring a peace, which, from the height of power and grandeur, placed him in the obscurity of private life, Wallenstein wished only to change the theatre of the war, and to prolong, by this separate peace, the general confusion. The friendship of the king of Denmark, to whom he was neighbour as the duke of Mechlenburg, was of great importance for the execution of his vast projects; and he resolved to attach himself to this monarch, even at the expense of his master's interests. By the treaty of Copenhagen, Christian IV. had engaged himself not to conclude a separate peace with the emperor without the consent of Sweden. Notwithstanding this agreement, he readily received the propositions that Wallenstein made to him.

In a congress at Lubeck, in 1629, from which Wallenstein caused to be excluded, with the most studied contempt, the Swedish ambassadors, who came to intercede for the former dukes of Mechlenburg, whilst he gave back to Denmark all the lands that had been taken possession of by the Imperialists, they enjoined Christian not to interfere henceforth, in the affairs of Germany, any further than his title of duke of Holstein authorized him; to abstain from all pretensions to the ecclesisastical property in Lower Germany, and to abandon the dukes of Mechlenburg to their fate. Christian himself had entangled these two princes in the war against the emperor;

he now sacrificed them to oblige the spoiler of their states. Among the motives which had determined him to make war against the emperor, the re-establishment of the elector palatine, his relation, had not been the most inconsiderable. They did not make the least mention of this prince in the peace of Lubeck; and even recognised, in one of the articles of the treaty, the legitimacy of the elector of Bavaria.

Thus ingloriously did Christian IV. disappear from the scene. For the second time, Ferdinand had the repose of Germany in his hands, and it remained only with him to change the peace of Denmark into a general peace. From all parts of Germany the cries of the unfortunate arose, who supplicated him to put an end to their long sufferings; the barbarity of his soldiers, and the rapacity of his generals, had passed all bounds. Germany, ravaged by Mansfeld's destructive bands and those of Christian of Brunswick, and by the more terrible armies of Tilly and Wallenstein, lay exhausted, bleeding, desolated, and sighed for tranquillity.

All the states of the empire eagerly desired peace; even the emperor himself earnestly wished for it, being engaged in a war in Upper Italy with France, exhausted by that which he had hitherto waged in Germany, and apprehensive of the payment of expenses which was expected from him. But, unfortunately, the conditions upon which both parties were to lay down their arms were too opposite.

The Catholics would withdraw from this war with advantage; the Protestants had equal pretensions. The emperor, instead of uniting both by a prudent mediation, declared himself for one party; and thus plunged Germany anew into the horrours of a destructive war.

Since the termination of the Bohemian troubles Ferdinand had commenced the counter-reformation in his hereditary states; however, from regard to some Protestant states, he had at first used moderation. But the success which his generals obtained in Lower Germany encouraged him to lay aside all reserve. In consequence, he caused it to be signified to all the Protestants of his states, that they must either abandon their religion or their country, a bitter and dreadful alternative, which occasioned the most frightful commotions among the peasants of Austria. The Protestant religion was likewise proscribed in the Palatinate after the expulsion of Frederic IV. and they chased the teachers of this religion from the university of Heidelberg. These innovations were only a prelude to still greater. In an assembly of electors, held at Mulhausen, the Catholics demanded of the emperor, that all the archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and convents, mediate or immediate, seized by the Protestants since the peace of religion of Augsburg, should be restored to the Catholic church, in order to indemnify the Catholic states for the losses and vexations which they had experienced during the present war.

A zealous Catholic prince, like Ferdinand, could not but listen to such a hint; but it yet appeared to him too soon to raise all Protestant Germany by so determined a measure. There was not a single Protestant prince who would not lose a part of his lands by this restitution of the Catholic chapters. Wherever the revenues of these properties had not been entirely destined to temporal uses, they had been employed for the interest of the Protestant church. Several princes owed the greatest part of their revenues and their power to these acquisitions.

The idea then of such a restitution could not fail to alarm them all without distinction. The religious treaty had not taken from them the right to these chapters, though it had left the matter in some measure doubtful. But a long possession, which amounted with many to nearly an age, the silence of four successive emperors; the law of equity, which seemed to grant them, upon these properties founded by their ancestors, an equal share with the Catholics, might be urged, on their side, as incontestable titles. Besides the considerable diminution of their power and jurisdiction that this restitution would cause, and the extreme confusion which must necessarily result from it, it was of no small disadvantage to them that the Catholic party in the diet was to be strengthened by so many new votes of the re-established Catholic bishops. Such important losses on the part of the Protestants made the emperor fear the most violent opposition from them; and whilst the flame of war still consumed Germany, he feared the raising unseasonably a party against him, so much the more formidable as it was strongly united, and which had a powerful defender in the person of the elector of Saxony.

He therefore first tried upon a small scale to learn how far he could go in his general measures. Some Imperial cities of Upper Germany, and of the dutchy of Wirtemberg, received orders to restore several such alienated chapters. The situation of circumstances in Saxony permitted him to attempt a still bolder experiment. The Protestant canons of the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt had not hesitated to elect bishops of their own religion. Both bishoprics, with the sole exception of the city of Magdeburg, were, at this period, overrun by Wallenstein's troops. By accident, the see of Hal-

berstadt was vacant by the death of the administrator, Christian, duke of Brunswick, and the archbishopric of Magdeburg, by the deposition of Christian William, a prince of the house of Brandenburg. Ferdinand profited of both these circumstances, to give Halberstadt to a Catholic bishop, who was, besides, a prince of his own house. The chapter of Magdeburg, fearing to experience a similar violence, hastened to elect a son of the elector of Saxony for their archbishop. But the pope, who assumed the authority of interfering in this business, appointed the Austrian prince to the archbishopric of Magdeburg also, and people could not but admire the address of Ferdinand, who, whilst professing the purest zeal for the Catholic religion, did not forget the interests of his own family.

The peace of Lubeck had, at last, delivered the emperor from all fear on the side of Denmark; the Protestants appeared to be entirely cast down in Germany, and the League made new pretensions, louder and more pressing every day.

In 1629 Ferdinand signed the edict of restitution, famous for so many misfortunes, after having, nevertheless, submitted it to four Catholic electors for their approbation.

He commenced in this edict, by attributing to himself, in virtue of his high Imperial power, the right of expounding the sense of the peace of religion, the contradictory interpretations of which had caused all the errours until now, and creating himself the arbiter and supreme judge between the two contending parties. He grounded this right upon the practice of his ancestors, and upon the consent formerly given even by the Protestant states. Saxony had actually yielded this right to the emperor, and it was now evident how much this court had injured

the Protestant cause by its attachment to Austria. If, however, the letter of the religious treaty actually led to different interpretations, as the quarrels of the two parties during an age but too much proved, the emperor, who was necessarily a Catholic or a Protestant, and, in consequence, an interested party, could not, in any manner, decide upon the point of religion between the Protestants and the Catholics; in arrogating to himself this right, he evidently violated the most essential article of the peace. He could not become judge in his own cause without reducing the liberty of the German empire to an empty name. In virtue then of this right, which Ferdinand arrogated to himself, to interpret the treaty of religion, he decided, "That every seizure of chapters, mediate or "immediate, made by the Protestants since this treaty, "was contrary to its text, and should be re-called as an "infraction thereof." He also further decided, "That "the treaty of religion imposed no other obligation "upon the Catholic proprietors of estates towards their "Protestant subjects, than that of granting them the li-"berty of quitting their territories." According to this decision, all unlawful possessors of ecclesiastical chapters, consequently all the Protestant states without distinction, were commanded to give back immediately to the Imperial commissioners, under pain of the ban of the empire, these unjustly acquired properties. No less than two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics stood on the list; besides a considerable number of convents, which the Protestants had appropriated to themselves.

This edict was a thunder-clap to all Protestant Germany; terrible already as to all that which it obliged this party to give up; and still more so as to the future it presaged, and of which they now considered this only the

forerunner. The Protestants, from this time, regarded the destruction of their religion as resolved upon by the emperor and the Catholic League, and they did not doubt that the loss of the German liberty would soon follow. No representations were regarded; commissioners were named, and an army was assembled to compel obedience. They began at Augsburg, where the peace had been concluded: the town must return under the jurisdiction of its bishop, and six Protestant churches were closed in it. They likewise made the duke of Wirtemberg surrender his convents. This severity frightened all the Protestant states, but without exciting them to an active resistance. The fear of the emperor's forces operated too powerfully: a considerable number were already inclined to submission.

The hopes which the Catholics had of obtaining their aim by pacific means engaged them to retard the full execution of the decree for a year, and this saved the Protestants.

Before this interval was expired, the success of the Swedish arms had entirely changed the face of affairs. In an assembly of electors held at Ratisbon in 1630, and at which Ferdinand assisted in person, the pacification of Germany was now seriously to be taken into consideration, and all its grievances were to be redressed. These grievances were not fewer on the side of the Catholics than on that of the Protestants, although Ferdinand had persuaded himself that he had attached all the members of the League by the edict of restitution, and particularly their chief, by elevating him to the electoral dignity, and rendering him master of the most part of the palatine lands. The good understanding between the emperor and the princes of the League was considerably altered since Wal-

lenstein's appearance. The proud Elector of Bavaria, accustomed to play the part of legislator in Germany, and to hold in his hands the fate even of the emperor himself, ceased all at once to be necessary; the high importance which he had hitherto enjoyed vanished at the same time with the credit of the League. Another now presented himself to reap the fruit of his victories, and to bury his past services in oblivion. The haughty character of the Duke of Friedland, whose sweetest triumph was to insult the majesty of princes, and to give an odious extension to the authority of his master, contributed not a little to augment the resentment of the elector.

Discontented with the emperor, and full of mistrust as to his intentions, he had entered into an alliance with France, and the other princes of the League were suspected of having followed his example. The fear of the Emperor's ambitious views, the indignation caused by all the evils that now desolated Germany, had destroyed all feelings of gratitude among them. Wallenstein's exactions had become altogether insupportable.

The Elector of Brandenburg estimated his losses at twenty, Pomerania at ten, Hesse at seven millions of dollars, and other states in proportion.

The cries for succour were universal, terrible, and pressing; no regard was given to their representations, no difference was made between the Catholics and Protestants, and all were unanimous upon this point. They assailed the terrified emperor with numerous complaints against Wallenstein; alarmed him by the most dreadful recital of all the violences committed in Germany.

Ferdinand was not a barbarian; if he was not absolutely innocent of the atrocities which were committed in Germany in his name, he was, however, ignorant of the ex-

tent to which they were carried; he did not hesitate to comply with the demands of the princes, and immediately disbanded eighteen thousand cavalry from his army.

The Swedes had already prepared to make their invasion of Germany when this dismission took place, and the greatest part of the disbanded Imperial soldiers hastened to join their standards.

This condescension of Ferdinand only served to encourage the more the pretensions of the Elector of Bavaria. The triumph over the emperor's authority was incomplete so long as the Duke of Friedland retained the supreme command.

The princes now cruelly revenged themselves upon this general, whose haughtiness they had all, without distinction, been obliged to feel. His dismissal was demanded by the whole college of electors, and even by the Spaniards, with a unanimity and warmth, which astonished the emperor. But even this concord, this warmth, with which those jealous of the emperor insisted upon Wallenstein's removal, must convince him of the great importance of this officer.

Wallenstein, instructed of the cabals which were formed against him at Ratisbon, neglected nothing to open the eyes of the emperor to the real designs of the Elector of Bavaria. He appeared in person in Ratisbon, but with a pomp which eclipsed that of the emperor, and furnished a new aliment to the hatred of his opponent. The emperor could not, for a long time, decide. They exacted a grievous sacrifice of him. He had to thank the Duke of Friedland for the whole of his superiority; he felt how much he should lose if he delivered him up to the hatred of the princes. Unfortunately he had occasion, at this moment, for the kind services of the electors. He wished

to insure the succession of the Imperial crown to his son Ferdinand, already elected King of Hungary, and the consent of Maximilian of Bavaria was indispensable. This affair interested him more than any other, and he did not hesitate to sacrifice the most important of his servants, in order to attach the duke of Bavaria to him.

At this diet of electors at Ratisbon, envoys from France attended, furnished with full powers to terminate a difference between the emperor and their master, which threatened a war in Italy. Vincent, duke of Mantua and Montferrat, had died without children. Charles, duke of Nevers, his nearest relation, had immediately taken possession of this inheritance, but without rendering to the emperor the homage that was due to him in his quality of liege lord of these dutchies. Reckoning upon the assistance of France and Venice, he persisted in his refusal of surrendering up these countries to the Imperial commissaries, until his right should be decided. Ferdinand, inflamed by the Spaniards, to whom, as proprietors of Milan, it was highly alarming to see a vassal of France in their neighbourhood, and to whom every opportunity of making conquests was pleasing, with the assistance of the emperor, in this part of Italy, took up arms.

Pope Urban VIII. was very anxious to prevent the war in these countries; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, the emperor sent a German army across the Alps, whose unexpected appearance threw all the Italian states into consternation. His arms were victorious throughout all Germany when this took place in Italy, and exaggerated fears saw Austria's old project of universal monarchy renewed.

The war of Germany then extended its terrors to those happy countries fertilized by the Po; the city of Mantua

was taken by assault, and all the surrounding countries were subjected to the excesses of a licentious soldiery.

The maledictions of the Italian people against the emperor were added to those which broke out from all parts of Germany, and even in the conclave itself silent prayers were offered to heaven for the prosperity of the Protestant arms.

Alarmed by the universal hatred which the Italian campaign drew upon him, and fatigued by the active representations of the electors, who supported the demands of the French minister with energy, the emperor listened to the proposals of France, and promised the new duke the investiture of Mantua. This important service, rendered to France by the Elector of Bavaria, merited a return on the part of the former. The treaty once concluded, the envoys of Richelieu had the wished-for opportunity, during their stay at Ratisbon, of carrying on the most dangerous intrigues against the emperor, of still augmenting the resentment of the discontented princes of the League, and of directing against his interests all the operations of this college of electors.

For this purpose, Richelieu had chosen a most excellent instrument in the person of Father Joseph, a capuchin friar, whom they had placed, as a person not at all to be suspected, near the ambassador. One of his first instructions was, to pursue with zeal the dismissal of Wallenstein. In losing the general who had led them to victory, the Austrian troops lost the greatest part of their strength; entire armies could not repair the loss of this individual. It was therefore a master-stroke of politics, at the moment when a victorious monarch, absolute master of his military operations, advanced to combat the emperor, to deprive the Imperial armies of the only general whose experience

and authority could balance the grand talents of Gustavus Adolphus.

Father Joseph, in concert with the Elector of Bavaria, undertook to conquer the irresolution of the emperor, who was also assailed, for the same object, by the Spaniards and the college of electors. "It would be prudent," said he, "to yield at this time to the desire of the princes, the "more easily to gain their suffrages for his son in the elec- "tion of the king of the Romans. The storm once passed "by, Wallenstein might quickly enough resume his former "station." The artful capuchin knew his man too well to believe that he hazarded any thing in offering this motive of consolation to Ferdinand. The voice of a monk to Ferdinand II. was as the voice of God. "Nothing upon earth," writes his own confessor, "was more sacred to him than "a sacerdotal head. If it should happen, he often said, "that he were to meet, at the same time and place, an "angel and a priest, the priest would obtain the first, and "the angel the second act, of his obeisance."—The dismission of Wallenstein was resolved upon.

In recompense for this pious confidence of Ferdinand in Father Joseph, this acted against him with such address at Ratisbon, that all his efforts to get his son nominated King of the Romans completely failed. In a private article of the treaty which they had just concluded, the French ministers were engaged to observe, on the part of France, the most exact neutrality towards the emperor's enemies, during the very time that Richelieu was already negociating with the King of Sweden, to excite him to declare war against Ferdinand, and force him to accept of the alliance of his master. He now hastened to disclaim this falsehood, so soon as it had produced the effect which he intended; Father Joseph must expiate in a cloister his

culpable temerity, for having exceeded his instructions.

Ferdinand saw, too late, how he had been sported with. "A wicked friar," he was heard to say, "has disarmed me by his rosary, and has enclosed no less than six electorates in his narrow cowl." Thus did fraud and cunning triumph over this emperor, at an epoch when he was regarded as all-powerful in Germany, and when he was actually so by his arms.

After weakening his army by eighteen thousand men, and dismissing a general who alone was equal to an army, he quitted Ratisbon, without having accomplished the object for which he had made all these sacrifices. Before the Swedes had beaten him in the field, Maximilian of Bavaria and Father Joseph had already given him a mortal wound. In this memorable assembly at Ratisbon, war was resolved upon with Sweden, and that of Mantua terminated. The princes there made useless efforts with the emperor for the re-establishment of the dukes of Mechlenburg, and the English ambassador there had as little success in soliciting an annual pension for the unfortunate Elector Palatine Frederic. Wallenstein commanded an army of nearly one hundred thousand men, by whom he was adored, when the sentence of his dismissal was announced to him. The greater part of the officers were creatures of his own; the least sign on his part decided the fate of the common soldier. His ambition knew no bounds, his pride was inflexible, and his imperious spirit could not support an injury without being revenged. He was now to be precipitated, in one instant, from the height of power into the obscurity of private life. To execute such a sentence against such a criminal, seemed to require nearly as much art as it had to obtain it from his judge. Therefore they had the precaution to choose two of Wal-

lenstein's most intimate friends to acquaint him with this bad news, which they were to soften as much as possible, with the most flattering assurances of the still continued favour of the emperor. Wallenstein had long known the object of their mission when the Imperial messengers presented themselves to him. He had had time to compose himself, and his countenance shewed serenity whilst grief and fury were raging in his breast; but he had resolved to obey. This sentence surprised him before he was yet prepared for the execution of his bold project. His immense property was dispersed in Bohemia and Moravia, and the emperor could, in confiscating it, suddenly cut the nerves of his power. He trusted to the future for satisfaction, and he was confirmed in his hopes by the predictions of an Italian astrologer, who guided this intractable spirit like a child in leading-strings.

Seni, as he was called, had read in the stars that the glorious career of his master was far from being terminated, and that the future reserved for him the most brilliant fortune. It was not necessary to consult the stars to prophecy, reasonably, before hand, that such an enemy as Gustavus Adolphus would not permit a general like Wallenstein to remain a long time indispensable. "The "emperor is betrayed," replied Wallenstein to the messengers, "I pity, but I pardon him. It is evident that "he permits himself to be governed by the imperious "Elector of Bavaria. I am indeed afflicted that he aban- "dons me with such facility; but I will obey him." He dismissed the deputies with magnificent presents; and he begged of the emperor, in an humble letter, not to withdraw from him his favour, and to maintain him in his acquired dignities. The discontent was universal in the army when the dismission of their general was known,

and the greatest part of the officers immediately quitted the service of the emperor. Many followed Wallenstein to his estates in Bohemia and Moravia; he attached others to him by considerable pensions, in order to profit immediately of their services when the opportunity required it. Repose was by no means Wallenstein's plan when he entered into the silence of private life. A royal pomp surrounded him in this solitude, and seemed to bid defiance to the sentence of his debasement. Six porticoes led to the palace which he inhabited at Prague, and a hundred houses were pulled down to make room to the castle court. He caused similar palaces to be erected upon his numerous estates. Gentlemen of the noblest houses disputed with each other for the honour of serving him, and Imperial chamberlains were seen surrendering up the gold key to exercise the same office under Wallenstein. He maintained sixty pages, who were instructed by the most able masters; fifty life-guards continually occupied his antichamber. He never had less at his table than a hundred covers, and his house-steward was a gentleman of distinction. When he travelled, his baggage and suite were composed of a hundred carriages, drawn by six and four horses; his court accompanied him in sixty coaches, with fifty saddle-horses. The splendour of the liveries, the brilliancy of the equipage, and the richness of his apartments, corresponded with this magnificence.

Six barons, and as many knights, continually surrounded his person, to attend to his slightest command.

Twelve patroles regularly made the rounds of the palace to prevent any disturbance. His busy genius required silence; no rattling of carriages must be heard near his abode, and it often happened that the streets were shut up with chains. His deportment was no less impenetra-

ble than his access: gloomy, reserved, and profound, he was as avaricious of his words as he was prodigal of his gold, and the little that he spoke was pronounced in a repulsive tone. He never smiled, and the coldness of his temperature resisted the seductions of his senses. Constantly occupied, his head full of grand projects, he renounced all idle dissipations, in the midst of which so many others consume a precious life.

He himself kept up a vast correspondence throughout Europe, and he wrote the most of his plans with his own hand, in order to trust as little as possible to the discretion of others. He was a man of large stature, thin, of a yellow complexion, with short red hair, small eyes, but sparkling; a frightful austerity was upon his brow, and only the excess of his recompenses was capable of retaining near him his trembling troop of servants. In this pompous obscurity, Wallenstein silently, but not inactively, awaited the return of his good fortune, and the day of revenge; soon the rapid course of Gustavus Adolphus's victories brought him the presentiment of this happy time.

He had not renounced any of his elevated plans; the ingratitude of the emperor had delivered his ambition from a restraint that annoyed it. The dazzling splendour of his private life betrayed the proud aim of his projects; and, prodigal as a monarch, he already seemed to count among his possessions the wealth which his hopes assigned him. (After Wallenstein's dismission and the landing of Gustavus Adolphus, a new commander-in-chief must be appointed;) it appeared at the same time equally necessary to unite in one hand the command of the Imperial troops with those of the League, separate till now.

Maximilian of Bavaria aspired to this important post,

that he might make the emperor dependent upon him; but the emperor, to prevent this, sought to get the appointment for the king of Hungary, his eldest son. At length, to set aside both competitors, and not to excite any jealousy on either side, they confided the command to Tilly, general of the League, who, from this moment, passed from the service of Bavaria into that of Austria. The armies which Ferdinand had in Germany, after the defection of Wallenstein's troops, amounted to about forty thousand men; the forces of the League were not much less numerous; both were commanded by excellent officers, accustomed to many campaigns and proud of a long course of victories. With this force they thought they had little cause to tremble at the approach of the king of Sweden, as they were masters of Pomerania and Mechlenburg, the only countries by which he could penetrate into Germany. After the unfortunate attempt of the king of Denmark, to stop the progress of the emperor, Gustavus Adolphus was the only prince in Europe from whom oppressed liberty could hope for salvation; he was also the only one, at the same time, that strong political reasons engaged to take up arms, who had personal offences to revenge, and whose great talents could conduct with success so perilous an enterprise. Powerful motives, which he had in common with Denmark, had already induced him, before the breaking out of the war in Lower Saxony, to offer his person and his army to defend Germany; at that time, the king of Denmark had, to his own misfortune, rejected this offer. Since this epoch, the insolence of Wallenstein, the despotic pride of the emperor, had not ceased to accumulate the provocations to irritate him as a man, and to determine him as a king. Imperial troops had been sent to Sigismund, king of Poland, to de-

fend Prussia against the Swedes. Gustavus, who complained of these hostilities to Wallenstein, was answered, "The emperor has too many soldiers; he must assist his good friends with them." This same Wallenstein had with haughtiness sent away the Swedish envoys from the congress at Lubeck, and, as they had shewn a determined resistance, he had threatened them with a treatment contrary to the law of nations. Ferdinand had insulted the Swedish flag, and also intercepted the king's despatches to Transylvania. He continued to place obstacles in the way of peace between Poland and Sweden, to support the pretensions of Sigismund to the crown of Sweden, and to refuse the title of king to Gustavus Adolphus. He had paid no manner of regard to the repeated remonstrances of Gustavus, and had even added new insults, instead of offering reparation for the former. So many personal motives, the strongest political and conscientious reasons, strengthened besides by the pressing solicitations of Germany, must act in a very forcible manner upon the mind of a prince who was so much the more jealous of the royal authority, as they appeared the more disposed to dispute it with him; who was flattered to excess by the glory of protecting the oppressed, and who passionately loved war, because it was the true element of his genius. But he could not seriously think of undertaking a new and such a dangerous war, before he had concluded a peace or an armistice with Poland.

Cardinal Richelieu had the merit of bringing about this truce with Poland. This great statesman directed the affairs of Europe with one hand, whilst with the other he crushed the factions and humbled the pride of the great in the interior of France. Amid the cares of a boisterous administration, he pursued, with an unshaken perseve-

rance, his projects against the house of Austria, and watched incessantly to place bounds to its ambition. But the circumstances in which he was placed did not oppose slight obstacles to the execution of his plans; for it is not permitted even to the greatest genius to insult with impunity the prejudices of his age. Minister of a Catholic king, a prince himself of the Romish church by the purple which he possessed, he did not dare openly to ally himself with the enemy of his church, to attack a power which, in the eyes of the multitude, had known how to conceal its ambitious projects with the sacred name of religion. The forbearance with which Richlieu must treat the confined ideas of his cotemporaries, checked his political activity; it obliged him to act secretly, and he profited of the hand of a stranger to execute the projects of his enlightened mind. After having made useless efforts to prevent Denmark from concluding peace with the emperor, he had recourse to Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of his age. Nothing was spared to bring this monarch to a determination, and at the same time to afford him the means of acting. Charnasse, an unsuspected emissary of the Cardinal's, appeared in Polish Prussia, where Gustavus Adolphus made war against Sigismund, and alternately visited both kings, to engage them to conclude either a peace or an armistice.

Gustavus Adolphus had been a long time disposed for this event, and at last the French minister succeeded in opening the eyes of Sigismund to his true interests, and the deceitful politics of the emperor. An armistice was concluded between the two kings for six years, by which Gustavus remained in possession of all his conquests, and at last obtained the liberty, so long desired by him, of turning his arms against the emperor. The French envoy

offered to the king the alliance of his master, with considerable assistance in money, which was not to be slighted. But Gustavus Adolphus feared, not without reason, that the acceptance of this offer would only make him dependent upon France, and perhaps shackle him in the midst of his triumphs; he likewise feared that his alliance with a Catholic king would awaken the mistrust of the Protestants.

This war was as pressing and just as the circumstances under which Gustavus Adolphus undertook it were favourable. The name of the emperor was, indeed, formidable; his resources were inexhaustible, his armies invincible until now; so perilous an enterprise would have frightened any other than Gustavus. He foresaw all the obstacles, all the dangers, which were opposed to his undertaking; but he likewise knew the means of conquering them. If his troops were not numerous, they were perfectly disciplined, hardened by a vigorous climate, by a long course of campaigns, and formed for victory in the Polish war. Sweden, although poor in money and men, and fatigued by the extraordinary efforts she had made in a war of eight years, was animated by an enthusiasm for its king, which promised the most able support in his project from the states of the empire. In Germany, the name of the emperor was, at least, as much hated as feared. The Protestant princes seemed only to wait for the arrival of a deliverer, to throw off the insupportable yoke of tyranny under which they laboured, and declare themselves openly for the Swedish cause. Even the Catholic princes could not but see with pleasure an adversary whose efforts had for their object the setting bounds to the preponderating power of the emperor.

The first victory in Germany must be decisive for his

cause, must bring the wavering princes to a declaration, strengthen the courage of his adherents, increase the number of warriors under his standards, and open to him abundant resources for the prosecution of the war. The greater part of the German states had hitherto suffered the evils of war; the opulent Hanseatic towns, nevertheless, had had the good fortune to preserve themselves free from them till now, and could have no hesitation to avoid a general ruin by a voluntary moderate sacrifice. The Imperial armies lived at the expense of the countries they occupied; therefore in driving them from these different lands, they must, in proportion, diminish. The forces of the emperor were considerably lessened by the untimely sending of troops to Italy and the Netherlands; Spain, exhausted by the loss of her Manilla fleet, and besides occupied by a serious war against the inhabitants of the Netherlands, could give him but little assistance. On the contrary, Great Britain made the king of Sweden hope for considerable subsidies; and France, which had just terminated her domestic troubles, made the most advantageous offers to assist him in his enterprise.

But the surest guarantee for the fortunate success of his undertaking, Gustavus Adolphus found in himself. Prudence, without doubt, exacted that he should assure himself of all foreign resources fit to place his enterprise beyond the reproach of temerity; but it was from his own bosom alone that he drew his confidence and his courage. Gustavus Adolphus was, without contradiction, the first general of his age and the bravest soldier in his army, which he had himself created.

Familiarized with the tactics of the Greeks and Romans, he had discovered a better military art, which afterwards served as a model to the greatest commanders. He di-

minished the enormous masses of the squadrons in order to render the movements of the cavalry more easy and more active; from the same motives he placed the battalions at greater distances from one another. Usually, his army occupied but one single line of battle; he formed it in two lines, that the second might be able to advance if the first should be forced to retreat. He knew how to supply the want of cavalry, by placing infantry among his horse, which disposition very often decided the victory; Europe learned of him, for the first time, the great importance of infantry in combats.

All Germany had admired the discipline by which the Swedish army so gloriously distinguished itself, in the first instance, upon the German territory. All excesses were punished in a severe manner; but blasphemy, theft, gaming, and dueling, met with a more severe chastisement. The Swedish articles of war prescribed moderation; there was not to be seen in the Swedish camp, even in the tent of the king, either gold or silver. The general's eye watched carefully over the manners of the soldiers, whilst it enflamed their courage in battle. Every regiment must each morning and evening form itself in a circle round its chaplain, and, in the open air, address prayers to the Almighty. In all this, the legislator himself served as a model. An unaffected and pure piety animated the courage of his great mind. Equally free from that gross incredulity, which leaves without restraint the ferocious movements of the barbarian, and the groveling bigotry of a Ferdinand, who abased himself in the dust before the Divinity, and yet disdainfully trampled on the necks of mankind, in the height of his good fortune Gustavus was always a man and a Christian; amid all his devotion the hero and the king. He supported all the hardships

of war like the lowest soldier in his army; his mind was serene in the midst of the most furious battle; his genius pointed out the results to him beforehand; every where present, he forgot death which surrounded him, and he was always found where there was the greatest danger. His natural valour made him too often lose sight of what was due to the general, and this great king terminated his life as a common soldier. But the coward as well as the brave followed such a leader to victory, and not any of the heroical actions which his example had created ever escaped his penetrating eye. The glory of their sovereign enflamed the entire Swedish nation with a noble confidence; proud of this king, the peasant of Finland and Gothland joyfully gave up what his poverty could afford; the soldier willingly shed his blood, and that elevated sentiment which the genius of this single man gave to the nation, survived him a considerable time.

They were as much in doubt as to the manner of carrying on the war, as they were agreed upon the necessity of it. An offensive war did not appear prudent even to the brave chancellor Oxenstiern himself, conscious that the king, deprived of money and full of a high sense of honour, had but feeble resources in comparison of a despot who disposed of all Germany as of his own property. The more extensive policy of the hero refuted these timid objections of the minister.

"If we wait for the enemy in Sweden," said Gustavus, "in losing a battle, all is lost; all on the contrary is "gained, if we obtain the first success in Germany. "The sea is large, and we have extensive coasts to watch. "Should the enemy's fleet escape us, or our own be beat-"en, it is not possible for us to prevent a landing. We "must therefore use all our efforts for the preservation of

"Stralsund. So long as this harbour shall be in our pow-
"er, we shall maintain the honour of our flag in the Bal-
"tic, and shall be able to keep up a free intercourse with
"Germany. But, in order to defend Stralsund, we must
"not shut ourselves up in Sweden; but must pass over
"with an army into Pomerania.

"Speak to me then no more of a defensive war, by
"which we shall lose our most precious advantages. Swe-
"den herself must not behold the standards of the enemy;
"and, if we are vanquished in Germany, it will still be
"time enough to have recourse to your plan."

It was therefore resolved to pass over to Germany, and attack the emperor. The preparations were urged with the greatest vigour, and the measures of Gustavus evinced as much foresight as his enterprise announced boldness and grandeur.

It was necessary, above all, in undertaking such a distant war, to place Sweden herself in security against the equivocal dispositions of her neighbours. In a personal interview with the King of Denmark at Markaroed, Gustavus assured himself of the friendship of this monarch; he covered his frontiers on the side of Moscow. Should Poland have any inclination to break the truce, she could be kept in check on the side of Germany. Falkenberg, a Swedish negociator, who had visited the courts of Holland and Germany, brought him the most flattering hopes from many Protestant princes, although not any of them as yet had courage enough, nor sufficient confidence, to enter into a formal alliance with him. The towns of Lubeck and Hamburgh shewed themselves ready to make advances of money, and to receive the copper of Sweden in repayment. Confidential persons were sent to the Prince of Transylvania to engage this irreconcileable enemy of the

house of Austria to take up arms against the emperor. In the mean time troops were raised in the Netherlands and Germany for Sweden, the old regiments were made complete, and new ones formed; ships were obtained and properly armed; they also procured provisions, ammunition, and money, as much as possible. In a short time, thirty ships-of-war were ready to sail and an army of fifteen thousand men, and two hundred transports were ready to embark them. Gustavus Adolphus would not take over a greater number of troops to Germany, and even the providing for these had hitherto exceeded the ability of his kingdom. But, if this army was small, it was formidable by its discipline and the bravery and the experience of the soldiers who composed it; it might form a nucleus to a more considerable military force when it should once reach the German territory, and if fortune should favour its first enterprizes. Oxenstiern, at the same time both general and chancellor, was in Prussia with about ten thousand men to defend this province against Poland. Some regular troops, and a considerable corps of militia, which served as a nursery to the principal army, remained in Sweden in order to prevent a perfidious neighbour from suddenly surprising the kingdom without defence. Such were the measures taken for the protection of Sweden. Those relative to the interior administration were not less the object of Gustavus Adolphus's solicitude. He confided the regency to the senate, the finances to the Count Palatine, John Casimer, the king's brother-in-law; tenderly as he loved his consort, he excluded her from all the affairs of Government, which her confined talents rendered indispensable. He regulated his house like a man preparing for eternity. On the 20th of May, 1630, after

having taken all the measures and finished all the preparations for his departure, the king appeared at Stockholm, in the general assembly of states, to bid them a solemn adieu. He took his daughter Christina in his arms, then four years old, and who was acknowledged from her birth as his successor; he introduced her to them as their future sovereign, in the event of his never returning, made them take the oath of allegiance to this princess, and afterwards caused the ordinances to be read, which determined the acts with which the Regency of the kingdom was to occupy itself during his absence, or during the minority of his daughter. The whole assembly dissolved in tears, and the king himself required some time to recover from his emotion, to be able to make his farewell speech to the states.

"It is not inconsiderately," he began, "that I em-
"bark myself and you in this new and dangerous war.
"The Almighty is my witness that I do not take up arms
"to satisfy a foolish ambition. The emperor has most
"cruelly offended me in the person of my ambassadors;
"he has supported my enemies, he pursues my friends
"and my brothers, tramples upon my religion, and even
"grasps at my crown. The oppressed states of Ger-
"many importune us for assistance; and, if it be the will
"of God, we will aid them. I know the dangers to
"which my life will be exposed. I have never shrunk
"from them, and shall hardly entirely escape. The Al-
"mighty has indeed hitherto most wonderfully protect-
"ed me; but I shall at last die in the defence of my
"country.

"I recommend you all to the protection of Heaven. Be
"just, be conscientious; may your conduct be irreproach-
"able; we thus shall meet again in eternity.

"Senators, to you, I first address myself: may God en-
"lighten your understandings, and fill you with wisdom,
"that by your counsels you may always do the best for
"the welfare of my kingdom. You, brave nobles, I re-
"commend to the protection of God; always continue to
"prove yourselves the worthy successors of those valiant
"Goths, who vanquished ancient Rome. To you, ministers
"of the church, I recommend mildness and peace, be you
"yourselves patterns of the christian virtues which you
"teach, and never abuse your authority over the hearts
"of my people. To you, deputies of the burgesses
"and peasantry, I wish the blessings of heaven; may a
"rich harvest recompense your labours; may your barns
"be filled; may you enjoy an abundance of all earthly
"things! I address my most sincere vows to heaven for
"happiness to you all, present or absent.—I bid you all
"my most affectionate farewell, and bid it perhaps for
"ever."

The embarkation of the troops took place at Elfsnaben, where the fleet lay at anchor; an immense crowd was collected on the shore to behold this spectacle, as magnificent as affecting. The hearts of the spectators were excited by different emotions, either by the grandeur of the enterprise, or admiration of the hero who conducted it. Among the superior officers who commanded in this army, Gustavus Horn, the Rhingrave Otto Lewis, Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, Ortenburg, Baudissen, Banner, Teufel, Tott, Mutsenfahl, Falkenberg, Kniphausen, and many others, illustrated their names. The fleet, detained by contrary winds, could not put to sea till the month of June, and, on the 24th of the same month, reached the island of Rugen, on the coast of Pomerania.

Gustavus Adolphus was the first who landed. He threw himself upon his knees in the presence of his followers, and thanked the Almighty for the preservation of his fleet and army.

He disembarked his troops upon the islands of Wollin and Usedom; upon his approach the Imperial garrisons immediately abandoned their fortifications and fled. With the rapidity of lightning he appeared before Stettin, to assure himself of this important place before the arrival of the Imperialists.

Bogisla the 14th, duke of Pomerania, a weak prince, declining in life, had been for a long time tired of the abuses which the Imperial troops exercised and still continued to exercise in his states; but, too feeble to make resistance, he had yielded, with silent grief, to superior force. The appearance of his deliverer, instead of raising his courage, only filled him with fears and doubts, although his country still bled so much from the wounds inflicted by the Imperialists; he did not dare to declare himself openly for the Swedes, fearing to incur the terrible vengeance of the emperor.

Gustavus Adolphus encamped before Stettin, and summoned the town to receive a Swedish garrison. Bogisla appeared in person in the king's camp, to supplicate him to retire. "I come to you as a friend and not as an enemy," replied Gustavus; "I do not make war with Pomerania or the German empire, but against the enemies of both. Your dutchy shall remain in my hands as a sacred deposit; you will receive it from me after the campaign, with much more certainty than from any other. Behold the footsteps of the Imperial troops in your country, regard those of mine in Usedom, and

"choose whether you will have the emperor or me for "your friend.

"What do you expect if the emperor render himself "master of your capital? Do you think he will treat "you more kindly than I? or do you intend to set "bounds to my conquests? The case is pressing: "make your determination, and do not force me to em- "ploy more efficacious measures."

The alternative was painful to the duke of Pomerania. On one side, the king of Sweden with a formidable army was at the doors of his capital; on the other, he saw the inevitable vengeance of the emperor, and the terrible example of so many German princes, who wandered about in misery, victims of this vengeance. The more immediate danger determined his resolution. Stettin opened its gates to the king of Sweden; the Swedish troops entered, and thus gained the advantage of the Imperialists, who hastened towards it by forced marches. The occupation of Stettin gave the king a firm footing in Pomerania, assured to him the navigation of the Oder and a magazine for his army. Duke Bogisla did not scruple to justify his conduct to the emperor on the plea of necessity, and expose himself on the commencement to the reproach of treachery: but, persuaded of the implacable disposition of this monarch, he closely allied himself with the king of Sweden, and sought in the friendship of this new protector a refuge against the hatred of Austria.

— By this alliance with Pomerania, the king acquired an important friend upon the German territory, who covered his rear, and kept up his communications with Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus had been attacked the first, in Prussia, by Ferdinand, he, therefore, on this account dispensed

with the accustomed formalities, and began hostilities without a declaration of war. He justified his conduct to the European princes, by a particular manifesto, in which he explained the motives which had induced him to take up arms. In the mean time he continued his progress in Pomerania, and saw his army daily increase. Officers as well as soldiers, who had fought under Mansfeld, Christian, duke of Brunswick, the king of Denmark, and Wallenstein, came in crowds to combat under his victorious banners. The invasion of the king of Sweden was far from exciting, at the Imperial court, the attention which it soon after appeared to merit. Austria, in her pride, carried to the uttermost by her hitherto unheard-of success, judged a prince hardly worthy of her notice who came from an obscure corner of Europe with a handful of soldiers, and whom they supposed to owe the military reputation he had already acquired to the incapacity of an enemy weaker than himself.

The humiliating description which Wallenstein had artfully given of the Swedish power, increased the security of the emperor; how could he esteem an enemy whom his general had the assurance to threaten to chase from Germany with rods? Even the rapid progress of Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania could not completely destroy this prejudice, to which the pleasantries of the courtiers gave still new nourishment. They called him in Vienna the *Snow King*, that the cold of the north yet kept congealed, but who would be seen to melt on his approach to the southward. The electors themselves, assembled at Ratisbon, paid not the least attention to his representations, and, from a blind complaisance to Ferdinand, even refused him the title of king. But, whilst they were making sport of him in Vienna and Ratisbon, he made

himself master of all the strong places in Pomerania and Mechlenburg. Notwithstanding this contemptuous behaviour, Ferdinand shewed himself disposed to terminate, by means of negociation, his differences with Sweden, and sent for this purpose plenipotentiaries to Dantzic. But their instructions shewed how little he was in earnest, since he still refused to Gustavus the title of king.

The only object which the emperor appears to have had in view by this step was, to throw upon the King of Sweden all the blame of being the aggressor, in order the more easily to assure himself, by this step, of the support of the states of the empire. The congress at Dantzig then separated without producing any thing, as might have been foreseen; and the animosity of both parties was carried to the uttermost by a passionate correspondence.

In the mean time, Torquato Conti, an Imperial general, who commanded the army in Pomerania, had in vain endeavoured to take Stettin from the Swedes. The Imperialists were successively driven from one place to another: Damm, Stargard, Camin, and Wolgast, fell quickly into the king's hands. To revenge himself upon the Duke of Pomerania, the emperor's general, on his retreat, caused the most horrible excesses to be exercised by his troops towards the inhabitants of Pomerania, who had already groaned a long time under the weight of his most cruel exactions.

Under the pretext of famishing the Swedish army, all was plundered and destroyed; and often, if the Imperialists could no longer maintain themselves in a place, they set fire to it, and left to the enemy nothing but the smoking ruins. But these barbarities served only to set the opposite conduct of the Swedes in a more brilliant light, and to gain the philanthropic monarch the hearts of all

mankind. The Swedish soldier paid for all that he had, and no private property was molested on his march.

In the towns and country, the king's army was therefore received with open arms; all Imperial soldiers, on the contrary, who fell into the hands of the Pomeranian peasantry, were massacred without compassion. Many Pomeranians entered the Swedish service, and the states of this so-greatly exhausted land willingly agreed to grant the king a contribution of a hundred thousand florins. Torquato Conti, an excellent general, notwithstanding the harshness of his character, not having been able to drive the king from Stettin, endeavoured at least to render useless the possession of this place to him. He entrenched himself at Garth, above Stettin, on the Oder, to be master of the river, and to cut off from this city its communication by water with the rest of Germany. Nothing could induce him to give battle to the king, who had the advantage of numbers; the latter, on his side, was as little inclined to make an attack upon the formidable intrenchments of the Imperialists. Torquato, too much in want of men and money to enable him to act offensively against Gustavus, was inclined, by his plan of operations, to give time to Count Tilly to come to the defence of Pomerania, and then, in union with this general, to attack the King of Sweden.

He even profited one day of the momentary absence of the king to make an attempt to surprise Stettin. But the Swedes were prepared for him; a spirited attack of the Imperialists was vigorously repulsed, and Torquato retired with great loss.

It is not to be denied, that Gustavus Adolphus owed as much to fortune as to his military talents for this favourable commencement. Since the dismission of Wallenstein,

the Imperial troops in Pomerania found themselves in the most deplorable state. They now suffered most severely from the effect of their own bad conduct; an exhausted desolated country could no longer offer them any means of subsistence. All discipline, all respect for the orders of their officers, had disappeared among them; their numbers visibly diminished, both by numerous desertions and a mortality which the severe cold in this climate, to which they were not accustomed, brought on them. Under these circumstances, the Imperial general was desirous of repose; he would willingly have refreshed his troops in winter quarters, but he had to oppose an enemy who felt no winter in the climate of Germany. Gustavus Adolphus had taken the precaution to provide his soldiers with sheep-skins, and they could thus keep the field even in the most rigorous season.

The Imperial plenipotentiaries, who came to negociate for a suspension of arms, received this discouraging reply: "The Swedes are soldiers in winter as well as in summer, "and are not disposed to make the peaceable inhabitants "of the country support any longer the evils of war. The "Imperialists may act as they choose, but the Swedes do "not intend to remain inactive." Torquato Conti, therefore, soon resigned his command where there was so little glory to acquire and still less money. Such an inequality must necessarily place the advantage on the Swedish side. The Imperialists were continually harassed in their winter quarters. Greifenhagen, an important place upon the Oder, was carried by assault, and the enemy did not delay to abandon the towns of Gartz and Piritz. In all Pomerania, the only places in his power were Griefswald, Demmin, and Colberg; and the king immediately made the most vigorous preparations for the siege of them. The

flying enemy directed his march towards Brandenburg, not without great loss in men, artillery, and baggage, which fell into the hands of the Swedes. In occupying the passes near Ribnitz and Damgarten, Gustavus had opened himself the passage into Mechlenburg. A manifesto which he published invited the inhabitants thereof to enter again under the dominion of their legitimate sovereigns, and to drive away all that were of Wallenstein's party. But the Imperialists had obtained possession, by stratagem, of the important town of Rostock; and this event stopped the further progress of the king, who was not inclined to divide his forces.

In vain the Dukes of Mechlenburg, driven from their states, were interceded for with the emperor by the princes assembled at Ratisbon; in vain they had sought to gain this monarch by protesting their submission, in repelling the alliance of Sweden, and in refusing constantly to employ any means of self-defence; all these failed.—Exasperated by the obstinate refusal of the emperor, they now openly took the part of the King of Sweden; raised troops, and confided the command of them to Francis Charles, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg. This duke actually obtained possession of some strong places on the Elbe, but lost them afterwards to the Imperial general Papheim, who was sent against him. Soon after, besieged in the town of Ratzeburg by the latter, he was obliged, after having vainly endeavoured to escape, to surrender himself prisoner with all his troops. Thus again disappeared, to these unfortunate princes, the hope of recovering their states; and it was reserved alone to the victorious arm of Gustavus Adolphus to render them this important justice. The emperor's fugitive bands had thrown themselves into the march of Brandenburg, which now

became the theatre of their frightful disorders. Not content with raising the most arbitrary contributions, and with quartering the troops upon the citizens, these barbarians plundered the houses, ransacked all places where they expected property to be concealed, took all the provisions which they could find, shamefully ill-treated all those who endeavoured to resist them, and dishonoured the women even in the churches.

All these outrages were not exercised in an enemy's country; they took place against the subjects of a prince from whom the emperor had received no offence, and whom he importuned, notwithstanding all this ill usage, to take up arms against Sweden.

The emperor's generals, without authority and without money, were forced to tolerate these frightful disorders, until, at length, their excess created even among themselves the most violent discontent, and their commander-in-chief, Count Schaumburg, disgusted, wished to lay down the command. The Elector of Brandenburg, without a sufficient army to defend his country, abandoned by the emperor, who paid no attention to the most pressing remonstrances, at last took a more decisive part: he published an edict, in which he commanded his subjects to repel force by force, and to kill without forbearance every Imperial soldier taken in pillaging. To such a degree were brought the ravages of the country and the distress of the government, that the only desperate remedy which remained to the sovereign was to encourage private vengeance by a formal law.

The Imperialists had drawn the Swedes into the circle of Brandenburg, and only the refusal which the elector had given of permitting a passage to the king's troops by the fortress of Custrin, could prevent Gustavus from going

to besiege Frankfort on the Oder. He returned to finish the conquests of Pomerania, by the taking of Demmin and Colberg: during this time, fieldmarshal Tilly advanced to defend the circle of Brandenburg. This general, who could boast of never yet having lost a battle; this vanquisher of Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick, the Margrave of Baden, and the King of Denmark; was now to find, in the King of Sweden, an adversary worthy of him. "Tilly was descended from an ancient family of Liege; he was brought up in the wars of the Netherlands, the school of the generals of that time. Soon after, under the Emperor Rodolph II. he found an opportunity to shew off his acquired talents in the war of Hungary, where he rapidly rose from one step to another. After the peace, he entered into the service of Maximilian of Bavaria, who named him commander-in-chief of his army with an unlimited power. Tilly, by his excellent regulations, was the founder of the Bavarian army; and it was particularly to him that Maximilian owed his superiority hitherto in the field. After the war of Bohemia, he received the command of the troops of the League; and now, upon the dismissal of Wallenstein, they confided to him that of all the Imperial army. Though equally severe towards his troops, implacable towards his enemies, and of as impenetrable a disposition as Wallenstein, he nevertheless far surpassed the latter in modesty and disinterestedness. A bigotted zeal for religion, an ardent thirst for blood and persecution, united with the natural ferocity of his character, made him the terror of the Protestants. A strange and terrific aspect corresponded with this disposition: of low stature, meagre, with hollow cheeks, a long nose, a broad wrinkled forehead, large whiskers, and a sharp chin. He generally appeared dressed in a Spanish doublet of light green

satin with open sleeves, and a small, but high-crowned, hat upon his head, which was ornamented with an ostrich feather that reached down to his back. His whole exterior brought to mind the Duke of Alba, the terrible chastiser of the Flemings, and his deeds were very far from effacing this impression. Such was the general who was opposed to the hero of the north. Tilly was very far from despising his adversary. "The King of Sweden," he declared loudly in the assembly of the electors at Ratisbon, "is an enemy as prudent as brave; he is inured to war, "and in the prime of life; his measures are excellent, his "resources extensive, and the states of his kingdom have "shewn him the greatest devotion. His army, composed "of Swedes, Germans, Livonians, Finlanders, Scotch, "and English, seems to be animated but by one sen- "timent, that of blind obedience to his commands. He "is a gamester from whom much is won even when noth- "ing is lost."

The progress of the King of Sweden in Brandenburg and Pomerania did not permit the new commander-in-chief to lose any time, and the generals who commanded upon the spot urgently demanded his presence. He hastened to collect all the Imperial troops scattered over Germany; but he was obliged to draw the necessary resources for the war from ravaged and exhausted countries; and, by the difficulties which he met with in so doing, much time was lost. At last, in the middle of winter, he appeared at the head of 20,000 men before Frankfort on the Oder, where he made a junction with the remains of Schaumburg's troops. He gave up to this general the defence of Frankfort, with a sufficient garrison, and marched to Pomerania to save Demmin and relieve Colberg, already reduced to the last extremity by the Swedes.

But, before he had left Brandenburg, Demmin, very ill defended by the Duke of Savelli, had already surrendered to the king, and Colberg capitulated for want of provisions, after a siege of five months. As the passes to Upper Pomerania had been occupied and fortified with the greatest care by the king, and as his encampment near Schwedt defied every attack, Tilly renounced his first plan of offence, and retired towards the Elbe to besiege Magdeburg.

By the taking of Demmin, the king could penetrate without any obstacle into Mechlenburg; but a more important undertaking drew his arms to another part. Tilly had hardly commenced his retreat, when Gustavus suddenly broke up his camp at Schwedt, and marched with all his forces against Frankfort on the Oder. This town was badly fortified, but was defended by a garrison of eight thousand men, in a great measure composed of those furious bands who had ravaged Pomerania and Brandenburg. The attack was spirited, and upon the third day the town was taken by storm. The enemy twice beat the *Chamade*, but the Swedes, assured of victory, rejected a capitulation, to exercise the terrible right of retaliation. Tilly had hardly arrived in this country, when he took a Swedish garrison that had been left behind in new Brandenburg; and, irritated by the obstinate resistance which it had opposed to him, he had put every man to the sword. The Swedes remembered this barbarity when they took Frankfort; and, to every Imperial soldier who demanded his life, Brandenburg quarter! they replied, and massacred him without pity. Several thousands were either killed or taken, many were drowned in the Oder, the remainder fled to Silesia, and all the artillery fell into the hands of the Swedes. Gustavus Adolphus was obli-

ged to yield to the impetuosity of his soldiers, and permit the pillaging of the town for three hours. Whilst this king hastened from one victory to another, the success of his arms raised the courage of the Protestants, whose resistance became every day more spirited; the emperor persisted in his exaggerated pretensions towards them; he executed to the full rigour the edict of restitution, and thus exhausted their patience. Necessity now obliged him to pursue the system of oppression which his presumption had at first dictated to him, and arbitrary measures were his only resource to extricate him from the difficulties which they had created. But, in a political body so artificially organized as the German is and always was, the hand of despotism must create the utmost confusion. The princes saw with astonishment the whole constitution of the empire subverted, and thus this approaching state of nature led them to personal resistance, the only means of safety that was in their power. At last the open measures taken by the emperor against the Protestant church undeceived the Elector of Saxony, who had so long been the dupe of this monarch's perfidious policy.

By excluding his son from the archbishopric of Magdeburg, Ferdinand had personally offended him; and fieldmarshal Arnheim, his new favourite and minister, neglected nothing that could increase the resentment of his master.

Formerly, an Imperial general under the command of Wallenstein, to whom he was still a most devoted friend, Arnheim sought to revenge his old benefactor and himself upon the emperor, and to detach the elector of Saxony from the Austrian interests. The appearance of the Swedes in Germany offered to him the proper means to execute this design. If the Protestant states joined Gus-

tavus Adolphus, he was invincible, and Ferdinand above all dreaded this union. The example of Saxony might cause the rest to declare themselves, and the fate of the emperor appeared, in some measure, to depend upon the resolution of the elector John George. The cunning favourite made his master sensible of his present importance, and advised him to terrify the emperor by a threatened alliance with Sweden; in order that he might obtain from the fears of that monarch what it was impossible to expect from his gratitude. However, he held it advisable not to conclude a definitive alliance with Sweden, that he might always retain his importance and be free. He inspired him with the grand design which nothing but a more able genius prevented him from executing, to attract to himself the whole Protestant party, to form a third power in Germany, and, placed between the king of Sweden and the emperor, to preserve always in his hands the means of making Sweden or Austria triumph at his will. This plan was so much the more adapted to flatter the self-love of John George, as this prince evinced an equal repugnance either to fall under the dependence of Sweden, or to remain any longer under the tyranny of the emperor. He could not see with indifference a foreign prince take from him the direction of affairs in Germany, and, however little capacity he had to act a first part, his vanity could not content itself with a second. He therefore resolved to draw the greatest possible advantages for his own situation from the progress of the King of Sweden, but, independent of this monarch, to pursue his own plan. For this purpose he had a conference with the elector of Brandenburg, who, animated by the same motives, had a similar hatred to the emperor, and the same mistrust of Sweden. After assuring himself, in a Diet held at Torgau, of the consent of the Saxon

states, whose sufferages were indispensable to him for the execution of his plan, he invited all the Protestant states of the empire to a general convention, which was to be opened at Leipzig, on the 6th February, 1631. The electors of Brandenburg, of Hesse Cassel, several princes, counts, states of the empire, and Protestant bishops, either in person, or by their representatives, appeared in this assembly, which the chaplain to the court of Saxony, Dr. Hoe of Hohenegg, opened by a most violent pulpit oration. The emperor had made useless efforts to prevent this arbitrary assembly, whose object was to organize the present defence, and which the presence of the Swedes in Germany rendered extremely dangerous.

The assembled princes, encouraged by the progress of Gustavus Adolphus, maintained their rites, and separated at the end of two months, after having come to a remarkable resolution, which put Ferdinand in no small embarrassment; the essence of which was, that they should make a demand in writing, in the name of all, to the emperor, for the revocation of the edict of restitution, for the recall of the troops which he had quartered in their residences and in the different fortresses of their states, to suspend the executions, and reform all the hitherto-existing abuses; in the mean time, however, to assemble an army of 40,000 men to do themselves justice, if the emperor denied it to them. A circumstance happened at the same time which still more strengthened the Protestant princes in their resolution. The king of Sweden had at length overcome the scruples existing in his mind till now, against a more intimate union with France; and on the 13th January, 1631, he entered into a formal alliance with this crown. After a very serious dispute upon the future treatment of the Catholic princes of the empire, whom

France had taken under her protection, and whom Gustavus, on the contrary, would subject to the right of reprisals, and after a less important contest upon the title of *His Majesty*, which French vanity refused to Swedish pride, Richelieu at length gave up the second point, and Gustavus Adolphus then abandoned the first, and the treaty of alliance was signed at Beerwald, in the Newmark. Both powers mutually engaged to assist each other by force of arms, to defend their common friends; to reinstate the expelled princes, and to re-establish things in the same state they were before the breaking out of the war upon the frontiers, as well as in the interior of Germany. For this purpose Sweden was to maintain an army of 30,000 men at her own cost in Germany; on the side of France, it was agreed that a subsidy of four hundred thousand dollars a year should be paid to the Swedes. Should fortune favour the arms of Gustavus Adolphus, he was to respect in all the conquered places the Catholic religion and the laws of the empire, and make no change in either. All states and princes, in Germany as well as out of it, even Catholic, were at liberty to accede to this alliance. No one party was to conclude a separate peace with the enemy without the knowledge and consent of the other. The alliance was to continue in force for five years.

As much as it had cost the king of Sweden to accept subsidies from France, and by this to renounce an unbounded liberty in the conducting of the war, so much was this alliance decisive for his affairs in Germany.

Now, for the first time, the states of the empire, seeing him supported by the most considerable power in Europe, began to have confidence in his undertaking, for the consequences of which they had hitherto trembled, not without cause. Now, for the first time, he became truly for-

midable to the emperor. Even the Catholic princes, who desired the humiliation of the Austrian house, were less alarmed at his progress since his alliance with a Catholic power imposed upon him the obligation of forbearance towards their religion. Thus, while the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus protected the Protestant religion and the liberty of the empire, against Ferdinand's ambition, the intervention of France would equally protect the Catholic religion and the liberties of Germany against this same Gustavus Adolphus, should the intoxication of good fortune carry him beyond the bounds of moderation.

The king of Sweden did not delay to make known to the princes who had taken a part in the convention of Leipzig the alliance which he had just concluded with France, and at the same time to invite them to a close union with him. France also supported him in this invitation, and spared no pains to prevail upon the Elector of Saxony to declare himself. Gustavus Adolphus offered to content himself with the secret support of the princes, if they yet thought it too dangerous to declare themselves openly for him. Several of them gave him hopes that they would espouse his cause whenever the opportunity should offer itself. John George, always full of jealousy and mistrust towards the King of Sweden, always faithful to his interested system of politics, could not come to any definitive resolution.

The conclusion of the convention of Leipzig, and the alliance between France and Sweden, were tidings equally unwelcome to the emperor. Against the first, he had recourse to the thunders of his all-powerful authority, and he only required an army to make France sensible of the whole weight of his anger.

Letters of remonstrance were addressed to all the mem-

bers of the convention of Leipzig, which most strictly forbid them to levy troops. They replied by the most bitter complaints, justified their conduct upon the principle of natural right, and continued their preparations for defence.

In the mean time the emperor's generals, in want of troops and money, were reduced to the dangerous necessity of losing sight of the King of Sweden or the states of the empire, as, after dividing their forces, they were not a match for both at the same time. The movements of the Protestants drew their attention to the interior of the empire. The progress of Gustavus Adolphus in the march of Brandenburg, which already menaced the hereditary states of the emperor in the vicinity, pressingly demanded their presence on that side. After the taking of Frankfort, the king had marched against Landsberg, on the Warta; and Tilly, after having endeavoured, but too late, to save this place, returned to Madgeburg, seriously to carry on the siege thereof. The rich archbishopric, of which the town of Madgeburg was the capital, had belonged for a considerable time to the Protestant princes of the House of Brandenburg, who had introduced their religion there. Christian William, the last administrator, had incurred the ban of the empire on account of his relations with Denmark; and the chapter, fearful of the effects of the emperor's vengeance against the archbishopric, had formally deprived the administrator of all his dignities.

Prince John Augustus, the second son of the Elector of Saxony, was appointed to replace him; but he was rejected by the emperor, who gave the archbishopric to his own son, Leopold. The Elector of Saxony in vain addressed complaints to the Imperial court; Christian William, of Brandenburg, took more active measures.—

Assured of the inclination of the people, and also of the magistrates of Madgeburg, and heated by chimerical hopes, he believed himself in a situation to conquer all the obstacles which the sentence of the chapter, the concurrence of two powerful competitors, and the edict of restitution, opposed to his re-establishment. He made a journey to Sweden, and endeavoured to assure himself of the support of Gustavus by promising him a powerful diversion in Germany. This king did not dismiss him without the hopes of a vigorous support on his part, but recommended him, nevertheless, to act with prudence.— Hardly had Christian William heard of the landing of his protector in Pomerania, than he introduced himself, by means of a disguise, into Madgeburg. He appeared suddenly at the council, reminded the magistrates of all the ravages committed by the Imperial troops, both in the town and country, exposed to them Ferdinand's projects, and the danger of the Protestant church. After this opening, he discovered to them that the day of their deliverance was arrived, and that Gustavus Adolphus offered to them his alliance and support. Magdeburg, one of the most opulent towns in Germany, enjoyed under the government of its magistrates a republican liberty, which animated all its subjects with a heroical courage. They had already given glorious proofs of it in combating against Wallenstein, who, allured by their riches, was inclined to impose enormous sacrifices upon them; they, by a most glorious opposition, maintained their rights.— Their entire territory, it is true, became the prey of Wallenstein's barbarous troops, but Magdeburg itself escaped his resentment. It was not, therefore, difficult for the administrator to gain the minds of those who yet so strongly recollected the ill usage they had suffered.

The city of Magdeburg concluded an alliance with the King of Sweden, in which was granted to this monarch a free passage through its territories and gates, as also the permission of recruiting in its dominions; and the king on his side engaged to protect with all his power its religion and privileges.

The administrator immediately assembled troops, and precipitately began hostilities before Gustavus Adolphus was sufficiently near to support him. He succeeded in taking some Imperial corps in the neighbourhood, made some conquests of slight importance, and even surprised the town of Halle. But the approach of an Imperial army soon forced him to return in haste, and not without loss, towards Magdeburg. Gustavus Adolphus, although dissatisfied with this precipitation, sent him, in the person of Dietrich of Falkenberg, an experienced officer, to direct the military operations and assist the administrator with his advice. The magistrates appointed Falkenberg governor of the city during the war. The prince's army was daily increased by the concourse of people that arrived from the neighbouring towns, it gained several advantages over the Imperial regiments sent against it, and kept up a war of skirmishes with much success for some months. At last the Count of Pappenheim, after having terminated his expedition against the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, approached the city. He, in a short time, drove all the administrator's troops from the surrounding redoubts, thus cut off all communication with Saxony, and made serious dispositions for investing Magdeburg. Soon after, Count Tilly likewise arrived, who summoned the administrator, by a threatening letter, not to oppose any longer the edict of restitution, to submit to the orders of the emperor, and surrender Magdeburg.

The answer of the prince was energetic and bold, and determined the Imperial general to have recourse to the force of arms; however the siege was yet delayed for some time. The progress of the King of Sweden had drawn the emperor's generals to another part, and the jealousy which arose among those who replaced them procured Magdeburg a respite for some months. At length, on the 30th of March, 1631, Tilly re-appeared to carry on the siege vigorously.

In a short time all the outworks were carried, and Falkenberg had even withdrawn the garrisons which he could no longer hope to save, and broken down the bridge upon the Elbe. As he had not sufficient troops to defend all the suburbs of this vast fortress, he abandoned those of Sudenburg and Neustadt to the enemy, who immediately reduced them to ashes.

Pappenheim separated himself from Tilly, and passed the Elbe near Schœnebeck to attack the city on another side. The garrison, considerably diminished by the different combats in the suburbs, hardly amounted to two thousand infantry and a few hundred cavalry; a number far too weak for so extensive, and at the same time so irregular, a fortress. To supply this defect, the citizens were armed; a desperate resource, that produced more harm than good. The citizens, naturally very indifferent soldiers, endangered the town still more by their disunion. The poorer sort saw, with grief, that all the burden was made to fall upon them alone, that they were exposed to all the fatigues, to all the dangers, whilst the rich sent their domestics, and made themselves comfortable at home. The discontent at last broke out into a general complaint; indifference succeeded zeal; vigilance and activity gave way to disgust and negligence. This discord, joined

to the progress of famine, by degrees created discouragement, so that many already began to be alarmed at the rashness of their enterprise, and to tremble before the omnipotent power of the emperor, against which they had taken up arms. But religious enthusiasm, the ardent love of liberty, an invincible hatred of the name of Ferdinand, the probable hope of speedy succour, prevented all idea of capitulation; and, however divided they might be in other things, all were agreed to defend the town to the last extremity.

The hopes of the besieged, of being promptly succoured, was founded on the greatest probability. They knew of the preparations of the Leipzig confederation; they were informed of the approach of Gustavus Adolphus; the preservation of Magdeburg equally interested both; a few days' march could bring the King of Sweden under their walls. All this was not unknown to Count Tilly, and he therefore hastened to obtain possession of Magdeburg, at whatever price it might cost. He had already sent a trumpeter to summon the city to surrender, and addressed different letters to the administrator, the commander, and the magistrate, but had received for answer, that that they would rather die than surrender. A vigorous sally of the besieged proved to him that their courage was far from being cast down, and the arrival of the King of Sweden at Potsdam, the incursions of the Swedes to the very walls of Zerbst, must cause him uneasiness, in as much as they raised the joyful hopes of the inhabitants of Magdeburg. He sent a second trumpeter to summon them again, and the moderate language which he now used only further increased the confidence of the besieged,—but merely to plunge them into such a security as became most fatal to them.

The besiegers, in the mean time, had advanced with their approaches unto the moat of the place; they had erected some batteries, which played upon the ramparts and the towers. One tower was entirely overthrown, but without facilitating the attack, at it had fallen on the side of the rampart, and not into the moat. Notwithstanding a continual bombardment, the rampart had suffered but little, and the effect of the red-hot balls, destined to fire the city, had been prevented by excellent dispositions. But the powder of the besieged was soon expended, and the cannon of the fortress ceased, by degrees, to reply to that of the besiegers. Before more powder could be obtained Magdeburg must be relieved, or surrender to the enemy. The inhabitants now waited with the most eager impatience, and regarded, with the utmost anxiety, that side from which they expected to see the Swedish standards waving in the air. Gustavus Adolphus was sufficiently near to be able to reach Magdeburg in three days. Their security augmented with their hopes, and every thing seemed to strengthen it. Upon the 9th of May, the enemy's cannonade ceased all at once to be heard, and many batteries were dismounted. A death-like silence was in the Imperial camp: all convinced the besieged that their deliverance was near. The greatest part of the citizens and sentinels, early in the morning, quitted their posts upon the ramparts, to enjoy once more, after such long toils, the sweets of sleep,—but it was a dear sleep indeed, and most horrible awaking!

Tilly had at last renounced the hopes, by his plan of attack, of rendering himself master of the city before the arrival of the Swedes, and therefore resolved to raise the seige; he would, however, before so doing, try a general assault. The difficulties were great, no breach ex-

isted as yet, and the works of the place were hardly damaged. However, the council of war assembled declared for the assault, and supported itself upon the example of Maestricht, which had been stormed at the point of day, and taken whilst the citizens and soldiers were giving themselves up to sleep.

The attack was to be made upon four parts of the town at the same time; the entire night, between the 9th and 10th, was employed in making the necessary dispositions. All was in readiness, and only waiting for the firing of the cannon, which was to give the signal, as early as five o'clock in the morning.

This however took place two hours later, as Tilly, still doubtful of the consequences, had re-assembled the council of war. Pappenheim was ordered to attack the works of the new town. A sloping rampart and a dry ditch of moderate depth, aided him in his attempt. The greatest part of the citizens and soldiers had left the walls, and the few who remained were overpowered by sleep. Thus it was not difficult for this general to mount the first rampart. Falkenberg, frightened by the noise of the cannon and the musketry, hastened from the Town Hall, where he was occupied in dispatching Tilly's second trumpeter, and, with the few men that he could collect, ran towards the gate of the new city, which was already in the enemy's power. Repulsed on this side, this brave general flew to another point, where another party already threatened to scale the walls. His resistance was in vain; at the very commencement of the combat he was pierced by the enemy's balls, and fell. The violent fire of the musketry, the noise of the alarm bells, the tumult which increased incessantly, at last awakened the citizens, and warned them of the danger which threatened them. They hastily

put on their cloaths, seized their arms, and in the midst of amazement and confusion rushed against the enemy. There yet remained some hopes of repulsing them, but the commander was killed; no plan of attack, no cavalry to penetrate into the confused ranks of the enemy, and at length no powder to sustain the fire, made the resistance vain. Two other gates, which had not yet been attacked, were abandoned by their defenders, who fled into the interior of the city, where a more pressing necessity called them. Tilly immediately profited of the disorder occasioned by this, likewise to attack these posts. The resistance is lively and obstinate, till at last four Imperial regiments, become masters of the rampart, fall upon the besieged in the rear, and thus complete their defeat. In this general confusion, a brave captain, of the name of Smith, once more leads back the most determined against the enemy, and is fortunate enough to repulse them to the gate, but falls mortally wounded, and Magdeburg's last hopes expired with him. Before the middle of the day, all the works are carried, and the city is in the hands of the enemy. Two gates are now opened by the assaulters to the main army, and Tilly caused part of his infantry to march in. He immediately took possession of the principal streets, and the cannon, which were at the same instant pointed, drove the citizens into their dwellings, there to await their destiny. They were not long left in doubt; two words from Count Tilly determined the fate of Magdeburg. Had even the general possessed any feeling of humanity, it would have been still in vain to have recommended forbearance to such soldiers; but Tilly did not even give himself the trouble to do so. The soldier, become by the silence of his general master of the citizens' lives, precipitates himself into

the interior of the houses, and there delivers himself up to the most horrible excesses. Many Germans, affected by the tears of innocence, felt pity; but the Walloons, of Pappenheim's army, listened only to their brutal fury. The slaughter had hardly begun, when the other gates were opened, and all the cavalry and the frightful bands of Croats were let loose against this unfortunate town. Now began a scene of blood, for which history has no language, poetry no pencil. Neither innocent children, nor helpless old age; neither youth, sex, condition, nor beauty, could disarm the fury of the vanquisher. Women are violated in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their mothers, and the defenceless sex has merely the privilege to fall a sacrifice to a two-fold fury. The most obscure retreat, the most sacred places, cannot preserve them from the eager research of an infuriated soldiery. Fifty-three women were found beheaded in one church. The Croats took pleasure in throwing children into the flames, Pappenheim's Walloons in piercing infants upon the bosoms of their mothers. Some officers of the League, disgusted by so many horrours, ventured going to Count Tilly, to engage him to put an end to the slaughter. "Return in an hour," was his reply; "I will then see what is to be done; the soldier "must have some reward for his dangers and his labours." These barbarities continued with uninterrupted fury, until at last the flames and smoke put an end to the soldiers' rapacity.

To increase the confusion, and prevent the resistance of the inhabitants, they had at the commencement set many places on fire. An impetuous wind arose, which extended the flames all over the city with the utmost rapidity, and the conflagration became general. Then a

horrible crowd was seen pressing through the smoke over dead bodies, amidst sparkling arms, falling ruins, and streams of blood. The atmosphere was so heated, that the intenseness thereof constrained even these monsters themselves to seek for safety in their camp. In less than twelve hours this populous, strong, and extensive city, one of the finest in Germany, lay in ashes, two churches and a few hovels excepted. The Administrator, Christian William, was, after receiving many wounds, taken prisoner, along with three Burgomasters; many brave officers and magistrates found, in combating, a death worthy of envy. Four hundred of the richest citizens owed their safety to the cupidity of the enemy's officers, who spared them in order to obtain a good ransom; and it was only the officers of the League who even shewed this kind of humanity, and they appeared like saving angels, in comparison of the emperor's blood-thirsty soldiery. Hardly was the fury of the conflagration diminished, when the Imperial bands returned with renewed ardour, to search for plunder among the ruins and ashes. Many of them perished, suffocated by the smoke; others made a considerable booty, as the citizens had sought to save their most precious effects in their cellars.

At last, on the 13th of May, Tilly himself appeared in the city, after the principal streets had been cleared of the ruins and the dead. Humanity shudders at the scene, which now offered itself to view! the living, crawling from under the heaps of dead bodies; children, wandering here and there, seeking their parents with heart-rending cries; infants still suckling at the breasts of their dead mothers! More than six thousand dead bodies must be thrown into the Elbe, to clear the streets; a much more considerable number, both of the living and the dead,

had been a prey to the flames; the entire number of those who perished, amounts to 30,000 men. The entry of the general, which followed on the 14th, put an end to the pillage, and those who had saved themselves till then preserved their lives. About a thousand persons had taken refuge in the cathedral, where they had passed three days and two nights, in the continual expectation of death, and without nourishment. Tilly caused their pardon to be announced to them, and distributed bread to them. The following day a solemn mass was celebrated in this church, and the *Te Deum* was chanted under a discharge of artillery. The Imperial General rode through the streets, in order to be able to report to his master, by ocular demonstration, that, since the taking of Troy and the destruction of Jerusalem, no such victory had been gained.

And this account was not exaggerated, when the grandeur, the prosperity, and the importance of the city which perished, together with the rage of its destroyers, is considered. The news of Magdeburg's frightful fate spread joy among the Catholics, and horrour and fear through all Protestant Germany. But the most bitter complaints and grievous cries arose from all parts against the King of Sweden, who, being so near this allied city, and so powerful, had left it to perish? Even the most rational found the king's inactivity incomprehensible, and Gustavus Adolphus, not to lose irrevocably the affection of a people whose deliverance he had undertaken, was obliged to lay before the world a justification of his conduct, dictated by himself. He had just attacked Landsberg, and conquered it on the 16th of April, when he heard of the danger which threatened Magdeburg. He immediately resolved to deliver this distressed town, and he himself

marched towards the Spree, with all his cavalry and ten regiments of infantry. The situation in which this king found himself upon the German territory, made it absolutely necessary that he should not advance a step without securing his rear. With extreme precaution he must penetrate into a country, in which he was surrounded by equivocal friends and powerful declared enemies, and where a single rash step might cut him off from all communication with his kingdom.

The elector of Brandenburg had already opened the fortress of Custrin to the flying Imperialists, and closed it against their Swedish pursuers. Should Gustavus not succeed against Tilly, this same elector might open his fortresses to the Imperialists, and the King of Sweden, being surrounded by enemies on all sides, would then be lost without resource. To prevent this accident in his present undertaking, he demanded, before he marched to the succour of Magdeburg, that the elector would deliver the fortresses of Custrin and Spandau to him, until he should have delivered the town. Nothing appeared more just than this demand. The great service which Gustavus Adolphus had a short time before rendered the elector by driving the Imperialists from Brandenburg, appeared to give him a right to his gratitude, and hitherto the behaviour of the Swedish army in Germany a claim to his confidence. But, in surrendering his fortresses to the King of Sweden, the elector rendered him in some measure master of his states, independently of breaking at the same time with Ferdinand, and exposing his states to the entire future vengeance of the Imperial army. George William carried on for a long time a cruel combat with himself, but at length weakness and interest gained the ascendancy. Insensible to the fate of Magdeburg, cal-

lous towards religion and German liberty, he saw nothing but his own danger; and his minister Schwartzenberg, secretly in the pay of Austria, increased his anxiety to the uttermost. In the mean time the Swedish troops approached Berlin, and the king took up his residence at the house of the elector. When he perceived the pusillanimity of this prince, he could not restrain his indignation. "I "march towards Magdeburg," said he, "not for my own "advantage, but for that of the Protestants. If no per- "son will assist me, I will immediately retreat, offer an "accommodation to the emperor, and return to Stock- "holm. I am certain that Ferdinand will grant me what- "ever peace I desire: but let Magdeburg fall and the "emperor have nothing more to fear from me, then be- "hold the fate that awaits you!" This menace, made at the right time, perhaps also the presence of the Swedish army, which was powerful enough to procure for Gustavus by force that which had been refused to his amicable request, at length determined the elector to place Spandau in the king's hands. The king now had two roads open to Magdeburg, the one to the westward through an exhausted country, and covered with the enemy's troops, who could dispute the passage of the Elbe with him; the other to the southward by Dessin and Wittenberg, where he would find bridges to cross the Elbe, and could procure provisions from Saxony. But he could not attempt this last road without the consent of the elector of Saxony, of whom Gustavus entertained the utmost mistrust. Before setting out, therefore, he demanded of this prince a free passage for his troops, as also the necessary provisions, offering to pay for the same. His demand was rejected, and no representation could move the elector to abandon his system of neutrality.

While the controversy upon this point was still going on, the news arrived of Magdeburg's horrible fate.

Tilly had announced this event to all the Protestant states in the tone of a conqueror, and had not lost an instant in drawing the greatest advantages from the universal terrour which it produced. The emperor's authority, considerably decreased since the progress of Gustavus, rose more formidable than ever after this decisive event; and the imperious language which he held towards the Protestant states was not long in making this change felt.

The resolutions of the confederacy of Leipzig were annulled by a proclamation, the convention itself was dissolved by an Imperial decree, and all the opposing states were menaced with the fate of Magdeburg. Tilly, as the executor of this Imperial decree, immediately ordered troops to march against the Bishop of Bremen, who was a member of the confederacy, and had enlisted soldiers. The terrified bishop directly surrendered his troops into the hands of Tilly, and signed the renunciation of the resolutions of Leipzig. An Imperial army, which arrived from Italy at the same epoch under the command of Count Furstenberg, acted in the same manner towards the administrator of Wirtemberg.

The duke must submit to the edict of restitution, and all the emperor's decrees: he was even compelled to the payment of a hundred thousand dollars a month towards supporting the Imperial troops.

Similar burdens were imposed upon the cities of Ulmand and Nuremberg, and the entire circles of Franconia and Swabia. The hand of the emperor now pressed terribly on Germany. The sudden superiority which he obtained by this event, the taking of Magdeburg, more apparent than real, drew him beyond the bounds of that modera-

tion which he had till now observed, and hurried him on to violent and arbitrary acts, which at last conquered the irresolution of the German princes in favour of Gustavus Adolphus.

However disastrous the immediate consequences of Magdeburg's destruction were to the Protestants, they were at length followed in the same degree by beneficial results.

The first surprise soon gave way to an active indignation; despair gave new strength, (and the liberties of Germany arose out of the ashes of Magdeburg.) Among the princes who had made part of the convention of Leipzic, the Elector of Saxony and the Elector of Hesse were by far the most dreaded, and the emperor's authority was ill established in these states until they were disarmed. Tilly first turned his arms against the Landgrave, and went immediately from Magdeburg towards Thuringia. The countries of Saxe Ernest and Schwartzenburg were extremely ill-treated upon this march; Frankenhausen was pillaged with impunity and reduced to ashes, even before the eyes of Tilly; the unfortunate subject expiated in a most cruel manner for the attachment of his sovereign to the Swedes. Erfurt, the key between Saxony and Franconia, was threatened with a siege, from which it redeemed itself by giving a considerable sum of money and a voluntary supply of provisions. Tilly dispatched an ambassador from thence to the Landgrave of Hesse, demanding of him to disband his troops immediately, and to renounce the convention of Leipzic, to receive the Imperial troops into his country and fortresses, to pay the contributions, and declare himself either a friend or an enemy. Thus must a prince of the German empire allow himself to be treated by an Imperial officer! But this insolent demand

was sustained by a military force, with gave it a fearful weight; and the remembrance yet fresh of Magdeburg's deplorable fate, only gave it the more energy. This renders the intrepid answer of the Landgrave the more worthy of praise. He replied, that "he was resolved not to "admit foreign soldiers either into his fortresses or his "capital. He had occasion for his troops himself. He "should know how to defend himself against any attack. "Should General Tilly be in want of money and provi- "sions, he might take the road to Munich, where he "would find a supply of both." The irruption of two Imperial corps into Hesse was the immediate consequence of this courageous reply; but the Landgrave took his measures so well, that they could not execute any thing of importance. It was, however, the intention of Tilly to follow with his whole force, and this unhappy country would have dearly paid for the firmness of its prince, if the movements of the King of Sweden had not at the critical moment called this general to another part.

Gustavus Adolphus had heard with the greatest grief of the destruction of Magdeburg; and George William still added to his profound affliction, in now demanding of him, according to treaty, the fortress of Spandau.

The loss of Magdeburg had rather augmented than diminished the motives for which the king sought to keep possession of that fortress, and the greater the probability of a decisive battle between him and Tilly became, the less could he resolve to abandon the only asylum which remained to him in case of a reverse. After having made vain endeavours with the elector, by means of representations and entreaties, and perceiving that the coldness of this prince rather daily increased, he at last sent orders to his commander to evacuate Spandau; but he declared

at the same time, that from that day the elector should be treated as an enemy. To give energy to this declaration, he appeared with his whole army before Berlin. "I will "not be worse treated than the Emperor's generals," replied he to the ambassadors whom the astonished elector sent to his camp. "Your master has received them in his "states, has furnished them with all necessaries, surren- "dered every place which they desired, and, notwith- "standing so much complaisance, he has not been able "to prevail upon them to treat his people with more hu- "manity. All that I require from him is security, a mo- "derate sum of money, and bread for my troops; in re- "turn for which I promise to protect his states, and to keep "the war at a distance from him. I must however insist "upon these points, and my brother, the elector, must "quickly decide whether he will accept me for a friend, "or see his capital plundered."

This resolute tone made an impression, and the pointing of the cannon against the town triumphed over all George William's doubts. In a few days they concluded a treaty, in which the elector consented to pay thirty thousand dollars a month to the King of Sweden, to allow the fortress of Spandau to remain in his hands, and engaged to open Custrin at all times to his troops. This decisive union of the Elector of Brandenburg with the Swedes found no better reception in Vienna than a similar one of the Duke of Pomerania had formerly done; but the unfavourable turn of fortune which the emperor's arms soon after experienced did not permit him to shew his resentment in any other way than by his words. The satisfaction which this happy event caused to the King of Sweden was soon augmented by the agreeable news that Greifswald, the only strong place in Pomerania, which

was yet in the power of the Imperialists, had capitulated; and all the country was at length freed from the presence of these desperate enemies. Gustavus appeared again in this dutchy, and enjoyed the delightful spectacle of the universal joy of the people, of which he was the author. A year was elapsed since Gustavus had entered Germany, and all the dutchy of Pomerania celebrated this event by solemn thanksgivings. A short time before, the Czar of Muscovy had sent ambassadors to congratulate him, renew his friendship, and even to offer him troops. He must congratulate himself so much the more upon this peaceful disposition of Russia, as it was of the highest importance to him not to have any neighbouring enemy to fear in the dangerous war that he was going to undertake. Not long after, the queen, Maria Eleonora, his consort, landed in Pomerania with a re-enforcement of eight thousand Swedes; and the arrival of six thousand English troops, commanded by the Marquis of Hamilton, must be the less passed over in silence, as this is all that history has recorded of the part which the English took in the thirty years war.

During Tilly's march in Thuringia, Pappenheim maintained himself upon the territory of Magdeburg, but could not prevent the Swedes from passing the Elbe at various times, from cutting down some Imperial detachments, and taking possession of several places. He himself, uneasy at the king's approach, recalled Count Tilly in the most urgent manner, and actually prevailed upon him to return by forced marches to Magdeburg. Tilly encamped on this side of the river, at Wolmirstadt; Gustavus Adolphus on the same side, at Werben, near the conflux of the Havel and the Elbe. The latter's arrival did not announce any thing favour-

able to Tilly. The Swedes dispersed three of his regiments which were posted in the villages at a distance from the main army, took half of their baggage, and burned the remainder. It was in vain that Tilly approached within cannon-shot of the king's camp to offer him battle; Gustavus, weaker than Tilly by one half, had the prudence to avoid it; his camp was too strong to permit the enemy to make an effectual attack upon it. There merely ensued a cannonade and some skirmishes, in all which the Swedes had the advantage. Upon Tilly's retreat to Wolmirstadt, his army was diminished by considerable desertion. Ever since the carnage of Magdeburg fortune had abandoned him. So much the more, on the contrary, it had uninterruptedly attended the King of Sweden. While he still remained in his camp at Werben, all Mechlenberg, with the exception of a few places, was conquered by his general, Tott, and the Duke Adolphus Frederic; and he enjoyed the noble satisfaction of seeing both these princes re-established in their states. He himself went to Gustrow, where the installation took place, in order to add, by his presence, to the brilliancy of this ceremony. With their deliverer in the middle, and a splendid train of princes, both the dukes made a solemn entry, which the joy of their subjects concluded in a sincere festival. Soon after his return to Werben, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel appeared in his camp, to conclude a close alliance, offensive and defensive, with him; the first sovereign in Germany who openly declared himself, and of his own free will, against the emperor, but urged thereto, likewise, by the most pressing motives. Landgrave William engaged to treat the king's enemies as his own, to open his towns and his entire camp to Gustavus, to furnish him with the provisions and all the necessaries he might require. In re-

turn for this, the king declared himself his friend and protector, and promised to conclude no peace until he had procured the landgrave full satisfaction from the emperor. Both parties sincerely kept their engagement. Hesse-Cassel persisted to the end of this long war in his alliance with Sweden, and he had cause at the peace of Westphalia to boast of the Swedish friendship. Tilly, from whom this bold step of the landgrave was not long concealed, sent Count Fugger with some regiments against him; he at the same time endeavoured, by seditious proclamations, to raise the Hessian subjects against their sovereign. His proclamations produced as little effect as his troops, which afterwards had such bad success in the battle of Breitenfeld. The Hessian states could not hesitate a moment between the protector of their property and him who robbed them of it. But what still more alarmed the Imperial general than Hesse-Cassel's conduct was the equivocal disposition of the Elector of Saxony, who, disregarding Ferdinand's commands, still continued his preparations, and adhered to the confederacy at Leipzig. Now, upon the near approach of the King of Sweden, with whom in a short time he must come to a decisive battle, it appeared extremely hazardous to let the Elector of Saxony remain in arms, ready at every instant to declare in favour of the enemy.

Tilly had just been re-enforced by 25,000 veteran troops, which had been led to him by Furstenberg; and, full of confidence in his strength, he believed that, either the terror alone of his arrival would suffice to disarm the elector, or, at any rate, he could conquer him without trouble. Before he left his camp at Wolmirstadt, he required the elector, by a special embassy, to open his states to the Imperial troops, either to disband his own or

unite them with those of the emperor, and to co-operate with him in driving the King of Sweden out of Germany. He reminded him that of all the German countries, Saxony was that which had been the most spared the evils of war, and threatened it with the most terrible ravages in case of refusal. Tilly had chosen the most unfavourable moment to hold this imperious language.

The violences exercised against his religion and his allies; the destruction of Magdeburg; the disorders committed by the Imperialists in Lusatia; all concurred to provoke the elector against the emperor. The proximity of Gustavus Adolphus, however so little his claim might be to the protection of this prince, inspired him with courage. He forbad the quartering of the Imperial troops, and declared his firm resolution to remain armed.

"How great must be his astonishment," he added, "to "see the Imperial army marching against his territories at "a time when it had enough to do to pursue the King of "Sweden; and, instead of the promised and well-merited "recompenses, to be paid with ingratitude and the ruin of his country." He treated Tilly's envoys with the greatest magnificence, and gave them at the same time a more positive reply. "Gentlemen," said he to them, "I plainly "see that it is intended to set the long-spared Saxon con-"fectionary on the table, but it is generally served up "with dishes for mere show, and nuts hard to crack; "take good care that you do not destroy your teeth."

Tilly now broke up his camp, and advanced to Halle, exercising horrible ravages, and from thence addressed another demand to the elector, but in a more pressing and threatening tone. When the motives which hitherto had directed this prince are recollected, and also that, by natural inclination as well as by the suggestions of his

minister, sold to Austria, he was devoted, even at the expense of his most sacred duties, to the interests of this power; when at last it is thought of the little management employed by Austria to keep him inactive till now; one cannot be too much astonished at the blindness of the emperor or his minister, who all at once abandoned their policy at the most critical time; and, by violent proceedings, drove this prince to extremities, who had always been so easy to rule. But was not this rather the intention of Tilly? Was it in order to make an equivocal friend a declared enemy, thereby to absolve himself from the forbearance which the secret commands of the emperor had imposed upon him till now with respect to the territories of this prince? or was it the emperor's intention to urge the Elector of Saxony to acts of hostility, that, by so doing, he might free himself with some appearance of reason from a gratitude become burdensome to him? But that which ought still to excite a greater degree of astonishment is Tilly's rash presumption, who, in presence of a formidable enemy, did not fear to make a new one; and even the carelessness of this general, who permitted their union without resistance.

John George, brought to despair by Tilly's invasion of his states, threw himself, not without great reluctance, into the arms of the King of Sweden. Immediately after the departure of Tilly's first embassy, he had sent his fieldmarshal, Arnheim, in all haste to Gustavus's camp, to demand the promptest assistance from this so-long neglected monarch. The king concealed the inward joy which this so much-wished-for explanation caused him. "I "am grieved for the elector," replied he to the ambassador with an affected coldness; "had he regarded my re- "peated representations, his lands would not have beheld

"any enemy, and Magdeburg would yet exist. Now, "when the greatest necessity leaves him no other means, "he has recourse to the King of Sweden. But inform "him, that I am far from being inclined to ruin myself, "as well as my allies, on account of the Elector of Sax- "ony. And who will guarantee to me the fidelity of a "prince whose minister is in the pay of Austria, and who "will abandon me so soon as the emperor flatters him, "and he sees his states delivered from the presence of "the enemy? Tilly has since then received considerable "re-enforcements, which shall, however, not prevent "my marching against him when I shall have secured a "retreat." The Saxon minister did not know what to reply to these reproaches, than that it would be best to bury past transactions in oblivion. He pressed the king to explain himself upon the conditions on which he would come to the succour of the elector, and promised him before hand the consent thereto. "I desire," replied Gustavus, "that the elector shall deliver the fortress of "Wittenberg to me, surrender as a hostage his eldest son, "give my troops three months' pay, and that he shall "surrender up to me all the traitors in his ministry. "Upon these conditions I am ready to assist him."

"Not only Wittenberg," cried the elector, as he received this answer, and sent back his minister to the Swedish camp, "but Torgau, all Saxony shall be open "to him; I will surrender the whole of my family to "him as hostages; and, if that be insufficient, I will even "yield up myself to him. Hasten back, and tell him that "I am ready to deliver up all the traitors that he will name, "to pay his army the money that he desires, and to ven- "ture my life and property for the good cause." The king had only been waiting to put to the proof the new

sentiments of John George. Convinced of his sincerity, he withdrew his severe demands. "The mistrust,', said he, "which they shewed me when I wished to go to the "aid of Magdeburg, awakened mine; the present confi- "dence of the elector merits an equal return from me. I "am content if he will furnish my army with a month's "pay, and I even hope to be able to indemnify him for "this advance."

Immediately after the conclusion of this alliance the king passed the Elbe, and on the following day joined the Saxons. Instead of preventing this union, Tilly had advanced against Leipzig, which he summoned to receive an Imperial garrison. The commander, John Pforta, reckoning upon speedy assistance, prepared to defend the place, and for this purpose reduced the suburbs on the road which leads to Halle to ashes. But the bad state of the fortifications rendered all resistance vain, and on the second day the gates were opened. Tilly had established his quarters in the house of a sexton, the only one in the suburbs of Halle which yet remained; here he signed the capitulation, and resolved at the same time upon attacking the King of Sweden. At the sight of the sculls and bones with which the sexton had ornamented his house, Tilly turned pale. Leipzig experienced, beyond all expectation, kind treatment. In the mean time, the King of Sweden and the Elector of Saxony held a grand council of war at Torgau, in presence of the Elector of Brandenburg. A decision was now to be made which was to fix irrevocably the fate of Germany and that of the Protestant religion, as also the happiness of many nations, and the destiny of their princes.

The anxiety for the future which ever agitates the bosom of heroes at the moment of every great determination,

seemed now for an instant to disturb the mind of Gustavus Adolphus. "If we now decide for a battle," said he, "there is nothing less than a crown and two electorates at "stake. Fortune is inconstant; and Heaven, impene- "trable in its designs, may, on account of our sins, grant "the victory to the enemy. Without doubt, a powerful "bulwark would yet defend my crown, though even my "army and myself should be lost. Placed at a great "distance, protected by a numerous fleet, furnished with "fortresses along its coasts, and defended by a warlike "people, my kingdom will be always secured from the "greatest misfortunes; but you, where will you find safe- "ty; you, who, by the situation of your states, will im- "mediately become the prey of the enemy should the "battle go against us?" (Gustavus Adolphus shewed the modest mistrust of a hero, the consciousness of whose strength does not blind him to the greatness of the danger; John George, the confidence of a weak mind, knowing that he was supported by a hero.) Full of impatience to see his states freed as soon as possible from two troublesome armies, he was eager for a battle, in which he had no ancient laurels to lose. He was inclined to march alone, with his Saxons, against Leipzig, to combat with Tilly. At last Gustavus Adolphus yielded to his inclination, and it was agreed to attack the enemy immediately, before he received the re-enforcements which the generals Altringer and Tiefenbach were bringing to him. The united Swedish and Saxon armies crossed the Mulda; the Elector of Brandenburg returned to his states. Early in the morning of the 7th of September, 1631, the hostile armies found themselves in presence of each other.

Tilly, who had neglected to prevent the junction of the Saxons with the Swedes, resolved to wait for the re-en-

forcements that were hastening to him. He had pitched his camp near Leipzig, in a strong and advantageous position, where he might hope not to be compelled to give battle. But hardly had the Swedish army made its first movements, than Pappenheim, impatient, intreated Tilly, in an urgent manner, to change his position, and move to the left, towards the hills which extend themselves from the village of Wahren to Lindenthal. His army, forming but one single line, was extended at the bottom of these hills; his artillery, distributed upon the heights, could sweep all the great plain of Breitenfeld. The united Swedish and Saxon army advanced on this side in two columns, and had to pass the Lober, near to Poldewitz, a village situated in front of the Imperial army. To oppose some obstacle to the passage of this brook, Tilly, although with the greatest repugnance, sent Pappenheim at the head of two thousand cuirassiers; but had given him express commands not to commence a battle. Notwithstanding this order, Pappenheim did not delay coming to an engagement with the Swedish van-guard, and he was constrained to retreat after a short resistance. To stop the enemy, he set fire to Poldewitz, which nevertheless did not prevent the advance of both armies, and their forming in order of battle. The Swedes formed on the right in two lines; the infantry in the centre was divided into small battalions, which could instantly execute, and without disorder, the most rapid movements; the cavalry, placed on the two wings, was equally divided into small squadrons; several detachments of infantry filled up its intervals, and were destined to conceal the smallness of their number, and to fire upon the enemy's cavalry. Colonel Teufel commanded the centre, Gustavus Horn the left wing: the king himself commanded the right wing, facing the Count of Pappenheim.

The Saxons were separated from the Swedes by a long

interval, a disposition of Gustavus which the event justified. The elector himself had concerted the plan of the battle with his fieldmarshal, and the king contented himself with merely approving of it. It appears that Gustavus was careful to separate the Swedish valour from the Saxon, and fortune did not confound them. Under the heights, towards the west, the enemy was extended upon an immense line, which reached far enough to outflank the Swedish army; the infantry was formed into large battalions, and the cavalry into large-squadrons, difficult to move. He had placed his artillery behind him upon the heights, so that he was commanded by his own balls, which made their arc above him. From this position of the artillery, it would seem, if it is permitted to trust entirely to this account, that Tilly had rather the intention of waiting for the enemy than that of attacking him; for it was not possible to penetrate into the enemy's ranks without placing himself under the fire of his own cannon. Tilly commanded the centre in person, Pappenheim the left wing, and Count Furstenburg the right.

The combined troops of the emperor and the league on this day did not amount to more than thirty-four or thirty-five thousand men: the united Swedish and Saxon army was of equal strength.

Had there been a million of men opposed to each other, it would have rendered this day more sanguinary, but not more important or more decisive. It was for this day that Gustavus Adolphus had crossed the Baltic, sought dangers in a distant land, and abandoned to the caprice of fortune both his life and his crown. The two greatest generals of their age, both hitherto invincible, were now in a long-avoided combat, to be opposed to each other for the last trial of their abilities, one of which must leave his renown upon the field of battle. All Germany beheld the approach of this battle with fear and trembling; all Europe awaited the issue of it with anxiety; and posterity must either bless or bewail it.

The resolution which until now had never failed Count Tilly abandoned him on this day. Without being decided to fight the king, he had not sufficient firmness to avoid doing so. Pappenheim influenced him against his will. Never before did so many doubts, so many fears, assail his mind; never before had such black presentiments clouded his till then serene brow. The spectre of Magdeburg seemed to pursue him. A cannonade of two hours opened the battle.

A west wind blew violently, and drove against the Swedes the smoke of the powder, and clouds of dust from the fields newly tilled. This determined the king to make a movement imperceptibly towards the north, and the rapidity with which this was done did not give the enemy time to oppose it. At length Tilly abandoned his position, and ventured the first an attack against the Swedes; but, received by the most violent fire, he turned all at once to the right, and fell with such impetuosity upon the Saxons, that their ranks were broken, and confusion ensued in the whole army. The elector himself first took refuge in Eilenburg. A few regiments still maintained themselves for some time on the field of battle, and saved, by their manlike resistance, the honour of the Saxon arms. The enemy had hardly perceived the disorder of the Saxons, when the bands of Croats urged on for plunder, and couriers were already expedited to carry the news of the victory to Munich and Vienna. Count Pappenheim made an attack with all his cavalry upon the right wing of the Swedes, but without being able to shake it. The king commanded here in person, and General Banner under him. Seven times Pappenheim renewed his attack, and seven times he was repulsed; he fled with a great loss, and abandoned the field of battle to the victor. In the mean time, Tilly, who had just dispersed the remains of the Saxon army, marched with his victorious troops against

the Swedish left wing. As soon as the king perceived the disorder of the Saxons, he had the presence of mind to send, in all haste, three regiments to re-enforce his left wing, and thus cover his flank, exposed by the flight of the Saxons. Gustavus Horn, who had the command of this wing, opposed the most energetic resistance to the enemy's cuirassiers; and the infantry, placed in the intervals of the squadrons of cavalry, greatly assisted in it. The enemy had already begun to give way, when Gustavus Adolphus himself appeared to decide the victory.

The left wing of the Imperialists was beaten, and his troops, which had now no longer any enemy before them, could be more usefully employed elsewhere. He therefore turned with his right wing and main body upon the left, and attacked the heights upon which the enemy's cannon were planted. In a short time they fell into his hands, and the enemy had now to bear the fire of their own guns. The flank fired upon by the artillery, and the front exposed to the impetuous charges of the Swedes, this Imperial army, till then invincible, was broken. Tilly had now no other resource than a quick retreat; but even this must be effected through the ranks of the enemy. The whole army suddenly fell into confusion, except four regiments of old veterans, who had never fled from a field of battle and were determined not to do so now. In a compact mass they pierced through the victorious army, and gained, continually fighting, a little wood, where they again formed against the enemy, and continued their opposition till night came on, when they were reduced to six hundred men. With them fled the remainder of Tilly's army, and the battle was decided. Gustavus Adolphus threw himself upon his knees amid the wounded and the dead, and in a fervent prayer offered to heaven his first transports of joy. He caused the flying enemy to be pursued by his cavalry as far as the extreme darkness of the night would permit. The sound of the alarm bells put all the

inhabitants of the surrounding villages in motion, and unfortunate was the soldier who fell into the hands of the enraged peasants. The king, not being able to attack Leipzig on the same night, encamped with the rest of his army between the field of battle and the town. The enemy left seven thousand men upon the spot; more than five thousand were either wounded or made prisoners. All their artillery, the entire camp was taken, and also above a hundred standards and colours. The Saxons lost two thousand men, the Swedes not more than seven hundred.

The defeat of the Imperialists was so great, that Tilly in his flight towards Halle and Halberstadt could not assemble more than six hundred men, and Pappenheim not more than fourteen hundred.

Thus quickly disappeared this redoubtable army, which only a short time before had made all Italy and Germany tremble.

Tilly himself owed his deliverance merely to accident. Although enfeebled by many wounds, he refused to surrender himself to a Swedish captain of Hesse, who was already upon the point of killing him, when a pistol ball at the very instant struck the Swede to the ground. But what was more grievous to Tilly than all his dangers, than all his wounds, was the surviving his renown, and losing in one day the labour of so long a life. All his former victories were nothing now, when the only one escaped him which should have crowned the whole of so many brilliant exploits. Nothing was now left to him of his splendid deeds, but the execrations of mankind with which they were accompanied. From this day Till'ys serenity abandoned him for ever, and fortune no longer befriended him. Even his last consolation, that of revenge, was taken from him by the emperor, who expressly commanded him from henceforth never more to risk any decisive battle. The misfortunes of this day are principally attributed to three faults: the first, from having placed his

artillery on the heights behind his army; the second, from drawing off too far from these heights; and the third, from allowing the enemy to form in order of battle without opposition. But how easily would these faults have been repaired, had it not been for the presence of mind, the coolness, and the superior genius of his adversary! Tilly fled precipitately from Halle to Halberstadt to attend to his wounds; he was hardly cured, when he hastened to the Weser, where he re-enforced himself with all the Imperial garrisons of Lower Saxony. The Elector of Saxony had not delayed, immediately after the past danger, to present himself in the king's camp. The king thanked him for having advised the battle, and John George surprised with this kind reception promised him in his first transports the Roman crown. The very next day Gustavus marched towards Merseburg, after leaving to the elector the re-taking of Leipzig.

Five thousand Imperialists who had rallied, and whom he met upon his route, were either cut down or taken; the most of them passed into his service. Merseburg surrendered immediately; and soon after Halle was taken, and it was here that the elector of Saxony, after having taken Leipzig, re-joined the king to consult with him upon the ulterior plan of their operations. The victory was gained, but only a wise manner of profiting it could make it decisive. The Imperial army was destroyed, Saxony no longer beheld the enemy, and the fugitive Tilly had retreated to Brunswick. To pursue him there, would be to carry the theatre of war into Lower Saxony, which had hardly recovered from the disasters of the preceding war. It was therefore resolved to march into the enemy's lands; they were open, and without defence all the way to Vienna. On the right they could fall upon the lands of the Catholic princes, on the left upon the emperor's hereditary states, and the emperor could be made to tremble even in his own residence. Both plans were chosen, and the

only question now was, how the parts should be distributed. Gustavus Adolphus at the head of a victorious army would have met with little resistance from Leipzig to Prague, Vienna, and Presburg. Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, and Hungary, were without defence ; and the oppressed Protestants of all these countries longed for a change. The emperor himself was no longer secure in his palace. Upon the first alarm of an attack, Vienna would open its gates. In taking these states from the enemy, he dried up the sources which furnished the expenses of the war, and Ferdinand would hasten to conclude a peace, to drive from the heart of his states so redoubtable an enemy. This bold plan might have flattered a conqueror, and perhaps also success would have justified it. Gustavus Adolphus, as prudent as brave, and more of a statesman than a conqueror, rejected it without hesitation, because he proposed to himself a more elevated aim, and because he would not trust the success of his enterprise to fortune and bravery alone. If Gustavus chose to march towards Bohemia, he was thus obliged to leave to the elector of Saxony the defence of Franconia and the Upper Rhine. But Tilly had already begun, from the wrecks of his beaten army, from the garrisons in Lower Saxony, and the re-enforcements that were sent to him, to re-assemble a new force upon the Weser, at the head of which it was probable he would not long delay to seek the enemy. To a general of his experience an Arnheim could not be opposed, who had given but very equivocal proofs of his talents at the battle of Leipzig. Of what use to the king was the ever so rapid and brilliant progress which he might make in Bohemia and Austria ; if Tilly became powerful again in Germany, if he raised, by new successes, the courage of the Catholics, and disarmed the king's allies? What would signify driving the emperor from his hereditary states, if Tilly conquered Germany for this same emperor ? Could he hope

to place the emperor in a more critical situation than that in which the Bohemian revolt had placed him twelve years before, which had not shook the firmness of this prince, did not exhaust his resources, and left him even more formidable than ever?

An invasion into the states of the League, which he might make in person, presented less brilliant results, but more solid ones.

By carrying his arms into this country, he made a decisive blow. The princes of the empire were at this moment assembled in a diet at Frankfort, to discuss upon the edict of restitution, where Ferdinand made use of all manner of artifices and intrigues to determine the yet-alarmed Protestants to a quick and disadvantageous arrangement. The approach of their protector could alone give them the courage firmly to oppose his pretensions, and destroy his designs. Gustavus Adolphus might also hope that his presence would unite all these discontented princes, and that the terror of his arms would detatch from the emperor all those who yet held with him.

Thus placed in the centre of Germany, he cut the sinews of the Imperial power, which could not be maintained without the assistance of the League. He could, from this point, more easily watch France, an equivocal ally, and, if some secret motive made the friendship of the Catholic princes important to him, so must he, beyond any thing else, render himself master of their fate, in order that he might, by a generous forbearance, acquire claims to their gratitude. He therefore chose for himself the way to Franconia and the Rhine, and left the conquest of Bohemia to the Elector of Saxony.

END OF VOL. I.

HAMBLIN, PRINTER UPPER THAMES-STREET.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR

IN

GERMANY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST EDITION, IN GERMAN, OF

FREDERIC SCHILLER,

BY

JAMES MARRIOTT DUNCAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ERRATA.—VOL. I.

Page 58, 4th line, for Pyrenecan, *read* Pyrennean.
—— 80, 1st line, for chidless, *read* childless.
—— 221, 20th line, for Hesse, *read* horse.
—— 222, 25th line, for profiting it, *read* profiting by it.

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Page 37, 6th line, for vangarde, *read* vanguard.
—— 43, 20th line, for tranquillize, *read* tranquillize.
—— 113, 30th line, for entangle, *read* entangled.

On account of the Translator having resided at a considerable distance from the press, he trusts that whatever inaccuracies may appear in the printing of this work will be excused by the reader.

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK III.

THE glorious victory of Gustavus Adolphus, at Leipzig, caused a great change in all the subsequent conduct of this monarch, as also in the opinion both of his enemies and friends. He had now vied with the greatest general of his age; he had tried the power of his tactics, and the courage of his Swedes, against the choicest of the Imperial troops, reckoned the best in Europe, and he was superior in this contest. From this moment he felt a greater confidence in himself, and confidence is the mother of great actions. From henceforth a bolder and a firmer step is to be remarked in all the military operations of the Swedish king, more resolution also in critical circumstances, a more imperious language towards his enemies, more self-importance towards his allies, and even his liberality itself shewed rather the condescension of the master. His natural courage was seconded by the religious elevation of his mind; he readily confounded his cause with that of heaven; he beheld in Tilly's defeat a decisive judgment of God against his adversary, and considered himself merely as the instrument of divine vengeance. Leaving his throne and his country far behind him, he advanced upon the wings of victory into the interior of Germany, which for centuries past had not be-

held any foreign conqueror in its bosom. The warlike disposition of its inhabitants, the vigilance of its numerous princes, the political connection of its states, the number of its strong castles, the course of its numerous rivers, had from time immemorial placed bounds to the ambition of its neighbours; and however often the storms of war had ranged near the frontiers of this extensive political body, its interior nevertheless had always been preserved from all foreign invasion. For ages this empire enjoyed the equivocal privilege of being alone its own enemy, and of being invincible beyond its boundaries: and even now it was the disunion of its members, and an intolerant zeal for religion, which had so completely opened Germany to the Swedish conqueror. For a considerable time past the union of the states, by which alone the empire was invincible, had been broken, and it was Germany herself which furnished Gustavus Adolphus with the means of subjecting her. With as much prudence as courage he profited of this favourable moment, and equally skilful in the cabinet as in the field, he knew as well how to rend in pieces the snares of an artful policy, as to overthrow the walls of towns which resisted him with the thunder of his cannon. Uninterrupted, he pursued his triumphs from one end of Germany to the other, without letting out of his hands for a moment the conducting thread which could lead him back in safety; and whether upon the shores of the Rhine, or at the mouth of the Lech, he never ceased to have a full communication with his country. The astonishment of the emperor and the Catholic League at Tilly's defeat at Leipzig, could hardly be greater than the surprise and embarrassment of the Swedish allies at the king's unexpected good fortune. It was greater than they had reckoned on, more than they had wished

for. The formidable army which stopped the progress of Gustavus, and placed bounds to his ambition, was all at once annihilated, that which always kept him dependent upon their good will. Alone, without a rival, without any adversary worthy of him, he found himself now in the midst of Germany; nothing could arrest his course, nothing could confine his pretensions, if the excess of good fortune should incline him to abuse it. If they had at first trembled at the excessive power of the emperor, so had they at this moment to dread that a foreign conqueror, in the full career of his success, might annihilate the constitution of the empire, that the religious zeal of a Protestant prince might cause him to make the most dangerous attempts against the Catholic church of Germany. Mistrust and jealousy were awakened in some of the allied powers, which had lain dormant for a long time through their great apprehensions of the emperor; and hardly had Gustavus entitled himself to their confidence by his courage and good fortune, when they, in an underhanded manner, took measures to overthrow his projects. In perpetual conflict with the artifices of his enemies, and the mistrust of his allies, he must gain his triumphs; but his determined courage and profound wisdom easily surmounted all these obstacles. Whilst the happy success of his arms excited the secret jealousy of France and Saxony, his most powerful allies, it raised the courage of the weaker states, which did not hesitate to make their true sentiments known, and openly embrace his party. Those who could neither contend with Gustavus Adolphus, nor suffer from his ambition, expected the more from the generosity of their powerful friend, who enriched them with the spoils of their enemies, and protected them against the oppression of the more powerful states. His strength concealed their weakness,

and, of no consequence by themselves, they obtained an importance by their union with the Swedish hero. This was the case of most of the Imperial towns, and above all with the weaker Protestant states. It was they who conducted the king into the interior of Germany, who covered his rear, provided for his army, received his troops into their fortresses, and shed their blood for him in his battles. His political forbearance to the German pride, his affable behaviour, some actions of justice, his respect for the laws, were so many claims by which he retained in his interests the mistrustful disposition of the German Protestants, and the revolting barbarities of the Imperialists, of the Spaniards, and troops of Lorrain, contributed greatly to set off his moderation, and that of his own army, in the most favourable light. If Gustavus Adolphus had mostly to thank his own genius for his success, it must not be denied that fortune and the situation of affairs favoured him not a little. He had two great advantages on his side, which gave him a decided superiority over the enemy. In carrying the theatre of the war into the states of the League, in attracting the young men of these states to him, by enriching himself with their spoils, by disposing of the revenues of the fugitive princes as of his own, he took from the enemy all means of opposing a vigorous resistance to him, and thus enabled himself to sustain, at a small cost, an expensive war. Likewise, if his adversaries, the princes of the League, divided among themselves, led by different and contrary interests, acted without concert, and consequently without energy; if their generals were not invested with powers sufficiently extensive, if their armies failed in discipline, if their armies were scattered and unconnected, if the chief legislator and the statesman were divided, in a word, if the gene-

ral with them was separated from the legislator and the statesman, both, on the contrary, were united in the person of Gustavus. He was the only source from which all authority flowed, the only aim upon which the determined warrior constantly had his eyes fixed; he, alone, was the soul of all his party, the creator and executor of his military plans. Gustavus thus gave to the Protestant cause a union and harmony which the contrary party necessarily wanted. Aided by all these advantages, at the head of such an army, endowed with a genius the most proper to profit of all these resources, conducted, besides, by principles of the wisest policy, it is not surprising that Gustavus Adolphus was irresistible.

With the sword in one hand, and pardon in the other, he was seen traversing Germany from one end to the other, as a conqueror, law-giver, and judge, in not much more time than it would have taken another upon a tour of pleasure. As if he had been the legitimate sovereign, they brought him from all parts the keys of the towns and fortresses. No castle resisted him, no river stopped his victorious progress, and he often triumphed by the mere dread of his name. The Swedish standards were planted upon all the borders of the Maine—the Lower Palatinate is free, the Spaniards and the troops of Lorrain have fled over the Rhine and the Moselle. The Swedes and the Hessians spread themselves like a torrent on the territories of Mentz, Wurtzburg, and Bamberg, and three fugitive bishops expiate, far from their homes, their fatal attachment to the emperor's cause. Maximilian himself, the chief of the league, feels in his turn, and his states experience at this moment the misery which he had prepared for others. Neither the misfortunes of his allies, nor the offers of friendship which Gustavus did not cease

to make in the midst of his triumphs, had been able to conquer the obstinacy of this prince.

The war rushed into the Bavarian territories over the dead body of Tilly, who, as a guardian angel, had placed himself at the entrance thereof. The shores of the Lech and the Danube, as also those of the Rhine, are covered with Swedish warriors:—concealed in his strong castles, the elector, beaten and trembling, abandoned his country to the enemy without defence;—this happy country, that the scourge of war had spared till now, and where the fanatical rage of the Bavarian husbandman invited retaliation. Munich opened its gates to the invincible monarch, and the fugitive Count Palatine, Frederick V. consoled himself for some moments in the forsaken residence of his rival for the loss of his states.

Whilst Gustavus Adolphus extended his conquests in the south of the empire, and with an overwhelming power overthrew all his enemies, his allies and generals gained similar triumphs in the other provinces. Lower Saxony shook off the emperor's yoke; the enemy evacuated Mechlenburg; the Imperial garrisons abandoned all the coasts of the Weser and Elbe. The Landgrave of Hesse made Westphalia tremble; the Duke of Weimar, Thuringia, and the French, the electorate of Treves. On the eastward, almost the whole kingdom of Bohemia fell into the power of the Saxons. The Turks already prepared for another attack upon Hungary, and a dangerous revolt is upon the eve of breaking out in the bosom of Austria. Inconsolable, the emperor Ferdinand looks around to all the European courts in expectation of strengthening himself by foreign assistance against such numerous enemies. In vain he called the Spanish armies to his aid, which the bravery of the inhabitants of the Nether-

lands kept occupied on the other side of the Rhine. He likewise made useless efforts at the court of Rome, to raise the entire Catholic Church in his favour:—the Pope, secretly offended, mocked at Ferdinand's danger, by making solemn processions, and launching vain anathemas against his enemies; and, instead of the money which he required, pointed out to him Mantua's ravaged fields. The proud Ferdinand now contemplated his position with fear. He is surrounded by enemies on all sides of his vast monarchy. In rendering themselves masters of the states of the League, the ramparts are overthrown, behind which the Austrian power had for so long a time considered itself secure; and already the torch of war approached his frontiers, deprived of defenders. His most devoted allies are disarmed. Maximilian of Bavaria, his firmest support, is now hardly able to defend himself. His armies, decreased by desertion and repeated defeats, discouraged by long reverses, have lost, under beaten generals, all that warlike ardour, the fruit of victory, and of which it is always the surest pledge. The danger is at its height. Extraordinary means alone can draw the Austrian House from the abyss which appears ready to engulph it: its most pressing want is a general, and jealous intrigues have deprived the army of the only one who could re-establish its ancient glory. So great is the abasement of the once-formidable emperor, that he is obliged to treat with his offended servant and subject; and, after being covered with shame in depriving the proud Duke of Friedland of his authority, he is now more shamefully obliged to press it upon him. A new spirit begins already to animate the body of the almost-extinct Austrian power, and soon the rapid change of circumstances betrays the vigorous arm which directs them. To the absolute power of the King

of Sweden, a general is now opposed whose power is equally absolute; to the Swedish hero, a hero like himself. Both parties again contend in doubtful combat, and the price of valour, which Gustavus seemed to have seized, is again to be submitted to the fate of new battles. Two formidable armies, commanded by these two illustrious chiefs, appear under the walls of Nuremburg. They encamp facing each other, observe each other with menacing aspects, and the desired moment appears to be at hand when the storm is to break out. Europe contemplates with fear and anxious curiosity this new theatre of the fury of war. Nuremberg already in alarm expects to give the name to a battle still more terrible and decisive than that fought upon the plains of Leipzig. Suddenly the cloud disperses, the storm of war vanishes from Franconia to ensanguine the plains of Saxony. It is near Lutzen that the thunder falls which threatened Nuremberg; it is there that Gustavus Adolphus meets his fate, and the inanimate body of this hero still recalls the Swedish standards to victory, which seemed inclined to abandon them. Fortune, which had always accompanied this monarch during the course of his brilliant career, accorded him also in dying the rare favour of perishing in the height of his glory, and in all the purity of his name. A premature death preserved him from the inevitable fate of humanity, to forget modesty in the height of fortune, and justice in the plenitude of power. We are permitted to doubt, whether or not, in the course of a longer life, he had merited the tears which Germany shed upon his tomb, whether he would have merited the tribute of admiration which posterity pays him, in honouring him as the first and only just conqueror. By the premature fall of this great man, the destruction of his whole party might be

feared. (But the loss of an individual is never irreparable to the power that governs the world.) Two great Statesmen, Axel Oxenstiern in Germany, and Richelieu in France, seized the helm of affairs which had escaped the dying hand of the hero, destiny steadily pursued its course after his death, and for sixteen entire years the flames of war hovered over the tomb of the departed warrior.

Let me here be permitted to take a short view of the triumphant march of Gustavus Adolphus, to run rapidly over the theatre where this hero is alone the actor; and then, when the Swedish arms shall have obtained their greatest degree of good fortune, and by a train of uninterrupted reverses the proud House of Austria is brought to extremities and descends to low and desperate means, to return with the thread of historical events to the emperor.

The King of Sweden and the Elector of Saxony had hardly concerted upon their plan of operations at Halle, and decided that the latter should attack Bohemia, while Gustavus Adolphus should throw himself into the lands belonging to the League; hardly had they concluded their alliances with the Princes of Weimar and Anhalt, their neighbours, and made their preparations for the re-taking of the Archbishoprick of Magdeburg, than the king advanced towards the interior of the empire. The enemy which he had to combat was by no means despicable. The emperor was yet powerful in Germany; he had garrisons throughout Franconia, Swabia, and the Palatinate; and the least important post must be taken sword in hand. The Spaniards expected him upon the Rhine; they had overrun all the lands of the unfortunate Frederic, had occupied all the strong places, and defended all the passages of the river. Tilly was in his rear, who had already assembled new forces. This general in a short time ex-

pected a re-enforcement from Lorrain to march under his banners. Religious zeal made every Catholic an implacable enemy to him, and, notwithstanding the relations which at this moment united him with France, obliged him to act with precaution towards them. Gustavus Adolphus saw all these obstacles, but he also perceived the means of surmounting them. The emperor's forces were dispersed in garrisons, and he had the advantage of acting with his united power. If he had to dread the religious fanaticism of the Catholics, and the small states that were by fear still retained in the emperor's interests, he could in return count upon the friendship and firm support of the Protestants, which a violent hatred animated against the House of Austria. The ravages committed by the Imperial and Spanish troops in these countries had for some time caused the ill-used inhabitants to long for a deliverer; and to the greater part of them a change of condition appeared already to be a diminution of their hardships. Some agents had been already dispatched to disp[illegible]se, *in* favour of Sweden, the most important Imperial towns, particularly Nuremberg and Frankfort. Erfurt was the first which the king desired to obtain, fearing to leave unoccupied so important a place in his rear. A successful negociation with the Protestant inhabitants opened to him, without striking a blow, the doors of the city and its citadel. He made the inhabitants take an oath of allegiance, a custom that he followed whenever any important place fell into his hands; he took care, besides, to assure its possession by a sufficient garrison. He gave to his ally, William Duke of Weimar, the command of an army, which was to be raised in Thuringia; he confided his queen to the city of Erfurt, and promised to increase its privileges. The Swedish army now marched in two columns, the one towards

Gotha, the other towards Armstadt, through the forest of Thuringia, took on its way the county of Henneberg from the hands of the Imperialists, and united on the third day before Kœnigshofen, on the Franconian frontiers. Francis, bishop of Wurtzburg, the most inveterate enemy of the Protestants, and the most zealous member of the Catholic League, was also the first who felt the avenging arm of Gustavus Adolphus. A few threatening words were sufficient to obtain the king possession of his fortress of Kœnigshofen, which was the key of the entire province. The news of this rapid conquest immediately spread consternation among all the Catholic states; already the bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, trembling in their palaces, saw their seats tottering, their churches profaned, and their religion degraded. Gustavus's enemies had made in all parts such frightful pictures of the spirit of persecution which animated him, and of the numerous barbarities of his army, that neither the assurances of the king to the contrary nor the brilliant example of his humanity and moderation could entirely efface. They feared to experience from him the same treatment which they felt they were capable of exercising towards him in similar circumstances. Many of the richest Catholics hastened to place their wealth, their consciences, and their persons, in safety against the sanguinary fanaticism of the Swedes. The bishop himself gave the example to his subjects. In the midst of the conflagration which his bigoted zeal had kindled, he abandoned his states, and fled to Paris, to endeavour, if possible, to raise the French ministry against the common enemy of religion.

In the mean time, the progress of Gustavus Adolphus in the bishopric was quite equal to its happy commencement. Schweinfurt, abandoned by the Imperial garrison,

surrendered; Wurtzburg soon followed its example; Marienberg was carried by assault. They had assembled in this place, regarded as impregnable, a considerable quantity of provisions and ammunition, which fell into the hands of the Swedes. A very valuable prize for the king was the Jesuits' library, which he caused to be transported to Upsal; and the prelate's cellar, abundantly provided, was a still more agreeable discovery to his soldiers. The bishop had secured his treasures just at the seasonable time. The entire bishopric soon followed the example of the capital, and surrendered to the conqueror. The king caused the oath of allegiance to be taken by all the bishop's subjects, and, in the absence of the legitimate government, created a regency, half the members of which were composed of Protestants. In all the Catholic places that fell into Gustavus Adolphus's power, he opened churches for the Protestant religion, but without making the enemies of his faith, the Papists, experience the cruel oppression with which they had made his brethren in religion groan for so long a time. He only exercised the terrible right of war against those who resisted him with arms in their hands. The general, the friend of humanity, cannot be held responsible for some particular horrors of which an unbridled soldiery are guilty in the blind fury of a first attack. The peaceably-disposed and unarmed experienced a mild treatment. It was Gustavus Adolphus's sacred law to spare the blood of his enemies as much as that of his own troops.

Upon the first news of the Swedish invasion, the Bishop of Wurtzburg, notwithstanding the negociations which he had entered into with the king in order to gain time, eagerly pressed the General of the League to come to the succour of his states. This defeated general had, in the

mean time, collected together upon the banks of the Weser the wreck of his army; he was besides re-enforced by the Imperial garrisons of Lower Saxony, and had made a junction in Hesse with the Generals Altringer and Fugger, under his command. At the head of these considerable forces, Count Tilly burnt with impatience to efface, by a brilliant victory, the shame of his first defeat. Encamped in the environs of Fulda, where he had conducted his army, he instantly solicited permission of the Duke of Bavaria to combat Gustavus Adolphus. But, besides Tilly's army, the League had no other to lose, and Maximilian was much too cautious to expose the entire fate of his party to the hazard of another battle. Tilly received, with tears in his eyes, the orders of his master, which constrained him to inactivity. By this means, the march of this general towards Franconia was delayed, and Gustavus Adolphus had time to render himself master of all the bishopric. It was in vain that Tilly, since re-enforced by twelve thousand troops of Lorrain, near Aschaffenburg, hastened with superior forces to the relief of the town of Wurtzburg; both the town and citadel were already in the power of the Swedes, and Maximilian of Bavaria was generally accused, and perhaps with reason, of having hastened, by his scruples, the loss of this bishopric. Tilly, forced to avoid a battle, contented himself with stopping the progress of the enemy; but he could rescue only a very small number of places from the impetuosity of the Swedes. After making an ineffectual attempt to throw re-enforcements into the town of Hanau, where the Imperialists had but a feeble garrison, the possession of which gave the king too great an advantage, he passed the Maine near Seligenstadt, and directed his march towards the Mountain Road to defend the Palatinate, me-

naced by the conqueror. Count Tilly was not the only enemy whom Gustavus Adolphus drove before him in Franconia. Charles, Duke of Lorraine, celebrated in the annals of his time for the inconstancy of his character, his vain projects, and his misfortunes, had also raised his feeble arm against the Swedish hero, to merit of Ferdinand the Second the electoral crown. Deaf to the maxims of a wise policy, he gave himself up, without reserve, to the suggestions of his proud ambition. In declaring himself for the emperor, he irritated France, his redoubtable neighbour; and, incessantly occupied in pursuing in distant countries the brilliant phantom which had always fled before him, he exposed his hereditary states, which a French army overrun with the rapidity of a torrent. At Vienna they willingly granted to him, as well as to the other princes of the League, the honour of sacrificing himself for the glory and elevation of the august House of Austria. Intoxicated with vain hopes, this prince assembled an army of seventeen thousand men, which he would lead to the field in person against the Swedes. Although his soldiers were wanting in bravery and discipline, they charmed the eye by the superbness of their splendid attire; and, however sparing they were of their martial prowess against the enemy, the more willing they were to display it towards the defenceless citizens and the unfortunate peasants, for whose protection they were called. This elegantly adorned army could not long resist the intrepidity and terrible discipline of the Swedes. A panic seized them upon the first charge of the Swedish cavalry, and they were easily driven from all the places which they occupied in the states of Wurtzburg. The disorder of a few regiments led to a general flight among these troops, and the remainder hastened to conceal themselves in some

towns on the other side of the Rhine from the northern bravery. Their chief, covered with shame, and the sport of all Germany, hastened to take the route of Strasburg to return home; happy enough to appease, by a letter full of submission, an irritated conqueror, who commenced by beating him, and then demanded of him the cause of his hostility. It is related that a peasant of a village on the banks of the Rhine dared to give the duke's horse a blow as he passed by him in his flight. "Courage, Sir," cried the peasant, "you must make more speed if you fly be- "fore the great King of Sweden." The Bishop of Bamberg, warned by the unfortunate example of his neighbour, took better measures. To prevent the plundering of his country, he made propositions of peace to the king, which had, however, no other object than to delay the march of Gustavus until the arrival of succours which he expected. Gustavus Adolphus, too sincere himself to suspect the bad faith of another, readily accepted the bishop's offers, and made him acquainted with the conditions upon which he would promise protection to his country. He besides shewed himself so much the better disposed to him, as he did not wish to lose time in conquering Bamberg, and because his other projects called him to the borders of the Rhine. The promptitude with which he pursued the execution of this plan obtained him the supplies which a longer stay in Franconia would have easily forced from this bishop, deprived as he was of all assistance. This crafty prelate broke the negociation as soon as he perceived the storm at a distance from his frontiers. Hardly had Gustavus Adolphus turned his back, when he threw himself into Tilly's arms, and received Imperial troops into the same town and fortresses which he had a short time before shewed his willingness to open

to the King of Sweden. But this artifice only delayed the ruin of his bishopric for a short time; a Swedish general, who had been left in Franconia, took upon himself to punish the bishop for this perfidy, and the bishopric was not long in becoming the deplorable theatre of a war, where friends as well as enemies exercised the most cruel ravages.

The flight of the Imperialists, whose threatening presence had hitherto constrained the resolution of the states of Franconia, and the conduct of Gustavus Adolphus, full of humanity, determined both the nobility and citizens of this circle to declare themselves in favour of the Swedes. Nuremberg solemnly placed itself under the king's protection. He gained the nobles by flattering proclamations, in which he condescended to apologize for appearing in arms in their country. The opulence of Franconia, and the scrupulous delicacy which the Swedish warriors maintained in all their relations with the inhabitants, brought abundance into the king's camp. The great credit which he enjoyed with the nobles of the circle, the admiration and respect which his brilliant exploits commanded, even with the enemy, and the rich booty that the service of an always-victorious monarch promised, were so many powerful motives which facilitated in a singular manner the new levies, which the great number of garrisons taken by the main army rendered necessary. At the first sound of the drum, the people ran in crowds to his standards from all parts of Franconia.

It had not cost the king much more time to conquer Franconia than it would have taken him to travel through it. He left behind him one of his ablest generals, Gustavus Horn, with eight thousand men, to complete the entire subjection of this circle, and preserve the conquests

already made. He hastened himself, with the main army, which was re-enforced by new levies made in Franconia, towards the Rhine, to secure this frontier of the empire against the attempts of the Spaniards, to disarm the ecclesiastical electors, and to draw from the fertile countries which this river flows through new resources for the prosecution of the war. He followed the course of the Maine; Seligenstadt, Aschaffenburg, Steinheim, and all the country situated upon the borders of this river, soon fell into his power. The Imperial garrisons seldom awaited his arrival, and they were never able to maintain themselves. Some time before, one of his generals was fortunate enough to succeed in taking from the Imperialists the town and citadel of Hanau, a military post, to which Tilly had attached the greatest importance. Happy to see himself delivered from the intolerable vexations of these soldiers, the count, sovereign of the country, submitted with joy to the milder yoke of the Swedish King. The city of Frankfort fixed, at this moment, the particular attention of Gustavus Adolphus; for his maxim upon the German territory was ever to secure his rear by the friendship and possession of the most important towns. Frankfort was one of the first Imperial towns which, from his entrance into Saxony, he had sought to influence in his favour; and he now summoned it, by new deputies from Offenbach, to grant him a free passage to his troops, and receive a garrison. The inhabitants would willingly not have had to choose between the King of Sweden and the Emperor; as, whichsoever party they declared for, they had equally to fear for their privileges and commerce. The anger of the emperor might fall heavily upon them if they readily gave themselves up to the King of Sweden, and if the latter should not be powerful

enough to protect his adherents in Germany against the emperor. But the consequences were far more dreadful, if they refused to surrender themselves to an invincible monarch who was already under their walls, at the head of a formidable army, and who could punish their opposition by the entire ruin of their commerce and prosperity. It was in vain that their deputies pointed out the danger which threatened their fairs, their privileges, and perhaps their constitution, if by embracing the Swedish cause, they exposed themselves to the anger of the emperor. Gustavus Adolphus appeared astonished, that, in a situation in which the liberty of all Germany was interested, as also the fate of the Protestant Church, they should talk of their markets, and that they should be more occupied with temporal advantages, than they were with the great interests of their country and of religion. "He had found," added he, with a menacing aspect, "the key of "every fortress and town, from that of the island of Rugen "to the Maine; and he should know how to find that which "would render him master of Frankfort. The prosperity "of Germany, the liberty of the Protestant Church, were "the sole objects of his invasion, and convinced of the "justness of his cause, he was not disposed to suffer his "progress to be impeded by any obstacle. He clearly saw "that the inhabitants of Frankfort would only, as it were, "extend a finger to him, but he must have the entire hand, "in earnest, to support him." He followed with all his army the footsteps of the deputies of the town who carried back this answer, and waited before Sachsenhausen, in full order of battle, the last resolution of the senate. If the town of Frankfort had made some difficulties in submitting to the King of Sweden, it was only on account of the dread the inhabitants had of the emperor. Their natural

inclination did not permit them to balance an instant between the oppressor of the German liberty and the protector thereof. The threatening dispositions which Gustavus Adolphus now made, to oblige them to declare themselves, might diminish, in the eyes of the emperor, the guilt of their defection, and give the appearance of constraint to a step which they took of their own free will. They now, therefore, opened the gates of Frankfort to the King of Sweden, who marched into this Imperial town at the head of his army, and with the greatest pomp. Six hundred men remained at Sachsenhausen, to form the garrison of this place. The same day the king advanced in person, with the rest of his army, towards the town of Hœchst, belonging to the Electorate of Mentz, which was taken before night. While Gustavus Adolphus extended his conquests upon the Maine, fortune likewise crowned the enterprises of his generals and his allies in the north of Germany. Rostock, Wismar, and Dœmitz, the only strong places in the dutchy of Mechlenburg which yet groaned under the Imperial yoke, were conquered by their lawful sovereign, the Duke John Albert, under the conduct of the Swedish General Achatius Tott. The emperor's general, Wolf, Count of Mansfeld, vainly endeavoured to retake from the Swedes the Bishopric of Halberstadt, of which they had rendered themselves masters immediately after the battle of Leipzig. He was soon after constrained to leave the Bishopric of Magdeburg in their hands. The Swedish General Banner, who remained behind upon the Elbe, with an army of eight thousand men, kept the town of Magdeburg closely blockaded, and had already overthrown many Imperial regiments which were sent to the succour of this place. The Count of Mansfeld defended the city, it is true, with the greatest

bravery; but, too weak in men to be able to oppose a long resistance to the numerous army which besieged it, he was already considering of the conditions upon which he would surrender the town, when General Pappenheim came to his relief, and occupied the enemy's arms in another part. However, Magdeburg, or rather the miserable huts which mournfully presented themselves to view out of the ruins of this unfortunate town, were in the end evacuated by the Imperialists, and the Swedes immediately took possession of them. Encouraged by the brilliant success of the King of Sweden, the states of Lower Saxony endeavoured to recover themselves from the terrible blow that Tilly and Wallenstein had given them in the unfortunate Danish war. They held a conference at Hamburg, in which they resolved to raise immediately three regiments, with whose assistance they hoped to be able to rid themselves of the cruel oppression of the Imperial garrisons. The Bishop of Bremen, a relation of the King of Sweden, went still further; he likewise raised troops on his own account, and with them harassed the defenceless priests and monks; but had the misfortune to see himself soon disarmed by the emperor's general, Count Grousfeld. Even George, Duke of Lunenburg, formerly a colonel in the Austrian service, now took the part of Gustavus Adolphus; he raised some regiments, which occupied the Imperial troops in Lower Saxony, not a little to the king's advantage. Gustavus Adolphus was served in a manner still more important by William, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, whose victorious arms made a great part of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, with the Bishopric of Fulda, and even the Electorate of Cologne, tremble.

It may be remembered, that immediately after the al-

liance contracted by the Landgrave with Gustavus Adolphus, in the camp of Werben, two of the emperor's generals, Fugger and Altringer, were sent into Hesse by the Count of Tilly, to punish the Landgrave for his defection, but this intrepid prince had been able to oppose the enemy's arms, as his states had likewise been able to resist the provocations to revolt made by the Count of Tilly, and the battle of Liepzig soon freed him from these devastating bands. With as much promptitude as courage, he profited of their absence; he conquered in a short time Vach, Minden, and Hoexter, and, alarmed by his rapid progress, the Bishopric of Fulda, Paderborn, and all the religious establishments on the Hessian frontiers. The states, terrified, hastened to stop his progress by a quick submission, and redeemed themselves from pillage by considerable voluntary payments. After these happy undertakings, the Landgrave with his victorious army joined Gustavus Adolphus's main army, and then went in person to Frankfort to meet this monarch, to concert with him upon the plan of their ulterior operations. Several princes and foreign ambassadors likewise appeared in this city, to render homage to the grandeur of Gustavus Adolphus, to implore his favour, or appease his anger. The most remarkable among them was the unfortunate Frederic V. Elector Palatine, and fugitive King of Bohemia. He had hastened from Holland to throw himself into the arms of his protector and avenger. Gustavus Adolphus granted him the unprofitable honour of receiving him as a crowned head, and endeavoured to soften his misfortunes by the general interest which he appeared to take. But however great the advantages he might promise himself from the power and fortune of his protector, whatever confidence he might have in his justice and generosity, the hopes of the

unfortunate prince, of seeing himself re-established in his states, were as distant as ever. The inactivity and contradictory politics of the Court of England had cooled the zeal of Gustavus Adolphus; and a resentment, of which he was not completely the master, made him here lose sight of the glorious character of being the protector of the oppressed, which he had so strongly announced he would take upon himself on his appearance in Germany.* George, landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, trembled before the invincible monarch, and, fearing the approaching vengeance of the king, was urged to a timely submission.

The connection of this prince with the emperor, his little zeal for the cause of the Protestants, were no secrets to Gustavus Adolphus; but he contented himself with only deriding this contemptible enemy. Ignorant of the political situation of Germany as much as he was deceived in himself, the landgrave had the foolish presumption to set himself up as a mediator between both parties, and Gustavus Adolphus called him, in derision, the *Peace-maker.* He was often heard to say, when he played with the landgrave, and gained of him, "That this money afforded "him double pleasure, because it was *Imperial coin.*" If Gustavus Adolphus contented himself with the Landgrave George's surrender to him of the fortress of Russelsheim, and with the engagement that he made to observe the strictest neutrality in this war, he owed it only to his relationship with the Elector of Saxony, towards whom the king had reason to use caution. The Counts of Wester-

* Charles I. at this time engaged in a quarrel with the rebellious fanatics of Scotland and his own Parliament in England, without troops or revenues, had sufficient upon his hands, and could not possibly interfere in foreign transactions. Neither did the Swedes, on account of the progress they were making, require his assistance.

wald and Wetterau likewise went to meet the king at Frankfort, to conclude an alliance with him, and offer their assistance against the Spaniards, which was not useless to him in the sequel.

The town of Frankfort had every reason to glory in the presence of this monarch, who employed his sovereign authority to protect their commerce, and likewise took the most prompt and energetic measures to re-establish their fairs, which had suffered very much during the war. The Swedish army was now re-enforced by ten thousand Hessians, which William, landgrave of Cassel, had led to the king. Gustavus Adolphus had already caused Kœnigstein to be attacked; Kostheim and Fliershain surrendered to him after a short siege; he was master of the whole course of the Maine. At Hœchst boats were constructed with all expedition to transport the troops on the other side of the Rhine. The sight of all these preparations filled Anselm Casimir, the Elector of Mentz, with dread, and he did not doubt for an instant that he must be the first upon whom the storm of war would burst. As an adherent of the emperor's, and as one of the most active members of the League, he had no better fate to expect than his two colleagues had met with, the Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg. The situation of his states upon the border of the Rhine imposed upon Gustavus Adolphus the necessity of securing them; and, besides, these rich countries, which the ills of war had spared until now, were irresistible attractions to an army which experienced the greatest wants. But too little acquainted with his own strength, and but little with that of the adversaries with whom he had to contend, the elector had flattered himself that he could repel force by force, and resist the Swedish valour by the strength of his ramparts.

He caused, with all haste, the fortifications of his capital to be repaired, provided the place with every thing that was necessary to sustain a long siege, and besides garrisoned it with two thousand Spaniards, commanded by a general of the same nation, Don Philip de Sylva. To render the approach impracticable to the Swedish vessels, he caused a quantity of stakes to be driven into the ground, at the mouth of the Maine; also great heaps of stones and large vessels to be sunk. He himself fled to Cologne, accompanied by the Bishop of Worms, and, taking with him his principal treasures, abandoned his capital and country to the tyranny and rapacity of the Spanish garrison. All these measures, which betrayed less true courage than impotent obstinacy, did not prevent the Swedish army advancing towards Mentz, and making the most serious dispositions for the attack of this city. Whilst a party of troops extended themselves in the Rheingau, and put all the Spaniards to the sword whom they found there, and raised enormous contributions; whilst another placed under contribution the Catholic parts of Westerwald and Wetterau; the principal army was already encamped near Cassel, opposite Mentz, and the Duke Bernard, of Weimar, had even obtained possession of the Mouse Tower and the Castle of Ehrenfels, on the opposite side of the Rhine. Gustavus Adolphus had already made serious dispositions to pass the Rhine and invest the town by land, when the progress of Tilly in Franconia obliged him precipitately to raise the siege thereof, and thus procured a repose to the electorate, which was only of short continuance.

Count Tilly, profiting of the absence of Gustavus Adolphus, had advanced to besiege the town of Nuremberg; he had already threatened it, in case of resistance, with

the horrible fate of Magdeburg. Gustavus, not being willing to incur a second time, in the eyes of Germany, the reproach and shame of having abandoned an allied city to the discretion of a barbarous enemy, hastened, by forced marches, to the assistance of this important Imperial town; but he had hardly arrived at Frankfort when he heard of the courageous resistance of the inhabitants of Nuremberg, and of Tilly's retreat. Gustavus Adolphus then recommenced his operations against Mentz. Not having been able to effect his passage of the Rhine at Cassel under the cannon of the besieged, he marched towards the chain of mountains called the Bergstrasse to approach the town on another side; upon his route, he rendered himself master of all the places of importance, and appeared for the second time upon the borders of the Rhine, near to Hockstadt, between Gernsheim and Oppenheim. The Spaniards had abandoned the mountain road, but were determined to oppose the most obstinate resistance on the other side of the river. They had, for this purpose, caused all the vessels which were in the environs to be either sunk or burnt, and had entrenched themselves upon the left bank of the river, determined to repel the most formidable attack, if the king should endeavour to effect his passage at this point. The courage of the king on this occasion placed him in very great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. In order to reconnoitre the opposite bank, he had ventured to pass over in a small boat, but had hardly disembarked when he was suddenly assailed by a party of Spanish cavalry. The most precipitate flight could alone save him from falling into their hands. At last he obtained, by the assistance of some mariners in the neighbourhood, a small number of barges, in two of which he made Count Brahe pass over, with

three hundred Swedes. He had hardly entrenched himself upon the left bank, when he found himself attacked by fourteen companies of dragoons and Spanish cuirassiers. Although the enemy's superiority was so great, Count Brahe defended himself with the greatest courage; and his heroical resistance gave the king time to come in person with fresh troops to his support. The Spaniards at length took flight, leaving six hundred men dead upon the spot; some of them took refuge in the strong town of Oppenheim, and others in Mentz. A lion of marble, erected upon a high column, with a drawn sword in his right claw, and bearing a casque on his head, shewed yet to the traveller, seventy years after, the place where the immortal monarch crossed the principal river of Germany.

Immediately after this fortunate event, Gustavus Adolphus caused his artillery, and the greatest part of his troops, to pass the river, and formed the siege of Oppenheim, which was carried by assault, after a desperate resistance, on Dec. 8, 1631. Five hundred Spaniards, who had defended the place with the greatest intrepidity, fell a sacrifice to the Swedish fury.

The news of Gustavus's passage across the Rhine filled the Spaniards and the troops of Lorrain with dread, who occupied the country situated on the left bank of that river, and who had there hoped to find a secure refuge against the terrible vengeance of the Swedes. A rapid flight was now their only safety; all the places which they could not hold without danger were most rapidly abandoned. After a long course of barbarities exercised against the unfortunate defenceless inhabitants, the troops of Lorrain evacuated the town of Worms; but it was not without making it experience, before leaving it, the most cruel usage. The Spaniards hastened to shut themselves

up in Frankenthal, where they hoped to brave with impunity the triumphant arms of Gustavus Adolphus. The king now lost no time in besieging Mentz, into which the principal part of the Spanish forces had thrown themselves. While he advanced towards this place along the Rhine, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel approached it upon the right side of the river, after subjugating some strong places on his march. The Spaniards' shut up in the place, although invested on both sides, shewed at first the greatest courage, and appeared resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. An uninterrupted shower of bombs, which they launched upon the Swedish camp for many days, cost the king the lives of many brave soldiers. However, in spite of this vigorous resistance, the Swedes always gained ground, and had already so nearly approached the moat, that they were seriously preparing for the assault. The courage of the besieged now abandoned them. They trembled at seeing themselves exposed to the dreadful effects of the Swedish vengeance; the frightful fate of Marienberg, near to Wurtzburg, filled them with dread: they did not doubt, if Mentz should be taken by storm, that the frightful scenes of Magdeburg would be renewed within its walls, and that the enemy would exercise the most terrible reprisals upon this rich and magnificent residence of a Catholic prince.

The Spaniards, more affected with this consideration than with that of saving their own lives, capitulated on the fourth day. They obtained from the generosity of the king a safe escort to Luxemburg; but the greatest part of them passed over to the Swedish standards, as many of their countrymen had already done. On the 13th of Dec. 1631, the King of Sweden made his entry into the conquered town, and took up his residence in the elector's

palace. Eighty pieces of cannon fell into his hands, and the citizens were obliged to obtain their exemption from plunder at the expense of eighty thousand florins. The Jews and Clergy were excluded from this contribution; they had, in particular, to pay considerable sums. The king took possession of the elector's library as his own property, and made it a present to his chancellor Oxenstiern, who resigned it to the seminary of Westerah; but the ship which was to transport it to Sweden was wrecked, and the Baltic Sea swallowed up this irreparable treasure.

After the loss of the town of Mentz, misfortune did not cease to pursue the Spaniards upon the Rhine. A short time before the conquest of this town, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had taken Falkenstein and Reifenberg; the fortress of Kœnigstein had surrendered to the Hessians; the Rhingrave Otto Louis, one of the king's generals, had the good fortune to defeat nine Spanish squadrons, which were on their march towards Frankenthal, in order to obtain possession of the most important posts upon the Rhine from Poppart to Bacharach. After the taking of the fortress of Braunfels, which the Counts of Wetterau effected with the assistance of the Swedes, the Spaniards lost every place in Wetterau; and, with the exception of Frankenthal, could preserve but few towns in the whole palatinate. Landau and Kronweissenburg openly declared for the Swedes; Spires offered to raise troops for the king's service; Manheim fell into the power of the Swedes by the presence of mind of the young Duke of Weimar and the negligence of the governor of this place, who for this misfortune was tried before a council of war at Heidelberg, and beheaded.

The king had prolonged the campaign until the winter was far advanced; and it was probably above all owing

to the severity of the season that the Swedish army maintained its superiority over the enemy. Now, however, the troops, exhausted with fatigue, required repose in winter quarters, which Gustavus Adolphus, soon after the taking of Mentz, granted them in its neighbourhood. He himself profited of the relaxation which the season of the year imposed upon his military operations, to expedite with his chancellor the affairs of his cabinet, to pursue the negociations with the enemy relative to neutrality, and to terminate a political dispute with an allied power, which his past conduct had occasioned. "He chose the city of Mentz for his winter quarters, which became the centre of political affairs, and towards which he shewed a greater partiality than agreed with the interests of the German princes, and that ill corresponded with the promise which he had made of paying a short visit to the empire." Not content with having fortified the town in the strongest manner, he caused to be constructed, upon the opposite angle which the Maine forms with the Rhine, a new citadel, which was called after the name of its founder *Gustavsburg*, but which now is more commonly known by the names of *Pfaffenraub* and *Pfaffenzwang*.

While Gustavus Adolphus rendered himself master of the Rhine, and threatened the three neighbouring electorates with his victorious arms, his enemies, full of activity, neglected nothing both in Paris and at St. Germain to deprive him of the support of France, and, if possible, to entangle him in a war with this power. He had himself, by his unexpected and equivocal movement upon the Rhine, occasioned alarm to his friends, and furnished his enemies with an opportunity of exciting the most dangerous suspicions as to his projects. After being master of the bishopric of Wurtzburg, and of the greatest part of

the Palatinate, it depended upon him to penetrate into Bavaria and Austria by the bishopric of Bamberg and the Upper Palatinate. The expectation was as general as it was natural, that he would not delay to attack the emperor and the duke of Bavaria in the centre of their power, and that, by vanquishing these two principal enemies, he would terminate the war in the quickest manner possible. But, to the no-little astonishment of both contending parties, Gustavus Adolphus abandoned the plan which the general opinion seemed to indicate; and, instead of turning his arms to the right, advanced to the left, to go and chastise the least culpable and least dangerous of the princes of the electorate of the Rhine, while he left to his two most powerful adversaries time to assemble new forces. Nothing but the project of driving away the Spaniards, and, above all things, the reinstalment of the unfortunate Frederic V. in his states, could explain this extraordinary conduct; and indeed the opinion that he was soon going to reinstal this prince, at first dissipated the suspicions of his friends and silenced the calumnies of his enemies.

But the Lower Palatinate was at this moment almost entirely cleared of enemies, and Gustavus Adolphus continued to make new conquests upon the Rhine. Master of the Palatinate, he did not render it to its legitimate sovereign. It was in vain that the King of England's ambassador reminded the conqueror of what justice exacted of him, and of the sacred duty that he had imposed upon himself by the most solemn promise. Gustavus answered these demands by bitter complaints of the inactivity of the English court, and made active preparations to carry his victorious banners into Alsace, and even into Lorrain.

Distrust now loudly declared itself against the Swedish

monarch, and the hatred of his adversaries was most active in spreading the most injurious reports as to his intentions. Already his approach to the frontiers of France had excited the fears of Richelieu, minister of Louis XIII. and the suspicious mind of his master opened itself but too easily to the worst conjectures upon this occasion. France was at this very time engaged in a civil war with its Protestant subjects, and had cause to apprehend that the approach of a victorious monarch of the same religion would revive their drooping courage, and excite them to a most obstinate resistance. These fears might even be realized, however far Gustavus Adolphus might be from giving them the least hopes, and of acting unfaithfully to his ally, the King of France. But the vindictive spirit of the Bishop of Wurtzburg, who endeavoured to console himself at the court of France for the loss of his states, the empoisoned eloquence of the Jesuits, and the active zeal of the Bavarian minister, represented this dangerous understanding between the Huguenots and the King of Sweden as quite certain, and succeeded in filling the fearful mind of Louis with the most dreadful alarms. Not only foolish politicians, but many rational Catholics, seriously believed that the King of Sweden was soon to penetrate into the innermost part of France to make common cause with the Huguenots, and overthrow the Catholic religion in the kingdom.

Fanatical zealots saw him already with an army climbing over the Alps, and dethroning Christ's vicegerent in Italy. Notwithstanding the ease with which these chimeras refuted themselves, it could not, however, be denied, that Gustavus Adolphus, by his plan of making conquests upon the Rhine, had awakened the most dangerous suspicions among his enemies, and justified, in

some measure, the reproach which they made him, of less directing his arms against the emperor and the duke of Bavaria than against the Catholic religion itself.

The universal cry of discontent which the Catholic courts, excited by the Jesuits, raised against the union of France with the enemy of the Church, at last induced Cardinal Richelieu to take a decisive measure for the security of his religion, and at the same time to convince the Catholic part of the world of the religious zeal of France, and of the interested politics which guided the ecclesiastical states of the empire. Convinced that the views of the King of Sweden, as well as his own, were only directed to the humiliation of the Austrian House, he made no difficulty in promising to the princes of the League a perfect neutrality on the part of this monarch as soon as they should have withdrawn themselves from the alliance which they had contracted with the emperor and recalled their troops. Whatever resolution the princes might take, Richelieu's end was obtained. By their separation from the Austrian party, Ferdinand was exposed defenceless to the united arms of France and Sweden, and Gustavus Adolphus, delivered from all his other enemies in Germany, could turn his entire strength against the hereditary states of the emperor. The ruin of the House of Austria was then inevitable, and this great object of all Richelieu's efforts would be obtained without the least prejudice to the Church: the consequences, on the contrary, became incomparably more dangerous, if the princes of the league persisted in their refusal, and still remained faithful to their alliance with Austria. Then, however, France had proved to all Europe its sentiments for the Catholic Church, and satisfied its duties as a member of this Church. The princes of the League appeared, in

this case, the only authors of all the misfortunes that the continuation of the war rendered inevitable in Catholic Germany. They alone, by an obstinate attachment to the emperor's cause, rendered abortive all the measures of their protector, placed the church in the greatest danger, and brought on their own destruction. Richelieu pursued this plan with so much the more zeal, as he was repeatedly urged by the Elector of Bavaria for succour from the court of France. It is to be recollected, that Maximilian, believing that he had cause to mistrust the intentions of the emperor, had some time ago concluded a secret treaty with France, by which he hoped to insure to himself the possession of the electorate palatine, whatever change might possibly take place in the disposition of the emperor. Although the motives which had dictated this treaty made it sufficiently well known against what enemy it was to be directed, Maximilian would arbitrarily extend the application of it to the King of Sweden, and did not hesitate to demand of France, against Gustavus Adolphus, the ally of this crown, the succours which had been promised him against Austria. Richelieu, embarrassed by this contradictory alliance between two opposite powers, saw no other means than to make hostilities cease immediately between them. As little disposed to abandon Bavaria as he was to support her, on account of his treaty with Sweden, he turned all his efforts to effect a neutrality, as the only means of satisfying at the same time both his engagements. In consequence, a particular plenipotentiary, the Marquis of Breze, was sent to the King of Sweden at Mentz to sound the king's disposition upon this point, and to obtain favourable conditions for the allied princes. But, if the most pressing motives urged Louis XIII. to desire this neutrality, still

motives not the less urging engaged the King of Sweden to desire that it should not take place. Convinced by numerous proofs that the aversion of the princes of the League to the Protestant religion was invincible, that their hatred of the Swedish power was inextinguishable, and that their attachment to Austria was unalterable, he less feared a state of open hostilities than a neutrality so contrary to their real sentiments. Besides, his position upon the German territory obliged him to make war at the enemy's expense: now, in diminishing the number of his enemies without acquiring new allies, he experienced a real loss, which was not compensated by any thing. It is not astonishing, then, that Gustavus Adolphus shewed himself so little disposed to sacrifice actual hard-earned advantages to obtain from the Catholic princes so useless a neutrality.

The conditions upon which he accorded neutrality to the Elector of Bavaria were hard, and conformably to this view: he exacted an entire inaction on the part of the Catholic League, that they should withdraw their troops from the emperor's armies, from the conquered places, and from all the Protestant countries. He demanded besides that the military forces of the League should be considerably reduced, all the lands belonging to the princes of the League should be closed to the Imperial armies, and they were not to furnish Austria with any succours in men, provisions, or ammunition. However hard were the conditions which the conqueror imposed upon the vanquished, the French plenipotentiary flattered himself to prevail upon the Elector of Bavaria to accept them.

To facilitate the success of this negociation, Gustavus Adolphus had granted a truce of a fortnight to Maximilian;

but, whilst the French agent guaranteed to the Swedish monarch the happy issue of this affair, a letter, which the elector had written to General Pappenheim, in Westphalia, was intercepted, and discovered the perfidy of Maximilian, who in this affair had sought for nothing but to gain time, the better to provide for his defence. Far from being inclined to fetter himself in his military operations by a treaty with Sweden, this artful prince hastened all his preparations for war, and profited of the delay which the enemy permitted to prepare himself for the most vigorous defence. Thus, therefore, vanished all these negociations, without leading to any other result than that of causing the hostilities between Sweden and Bavaria to be renewed with more animosity than ever.

Tilly had received re-enforcements, and the circle of Franconia, threatened with an invasion by this general, pressingly demanded the king's assistance; but first of all the Spaniards must be driven from the borders of the Rhine, and, to prevent their carrying the war from the Netherlands into Germany, Gustavus Adolphus had already proposed, with this intention, a neutrality to the Elector of Treves, Philip of Zeltern, upon the condition, however, that he should deliver up to him the fortress of Hermannstein, and that he should consent to grant a free passage through Coblentz to the Swedish troops. But, if the elector saw with grief his lands occupied by the Spaniards, he felt the greatest reluctance to place them under the suspected protection of a heretic, and to render the Swedish conqueror the absolute master of his fate. However, seeing the impossibility of defending his independence against two such powerful rivals, he sought a refuge against both under the powerful wings of France. Richelieu, with his accustomed politics, had profited of

the embarrassment of this prince to augment the force of the kingdom, and to procure himself an important ally upon the German frontiers. A numerous French army was to cover the country of Treves, and occupy the fortress of Erenbreistein. But the end which the elector had in view in taking this hazardous step was not entirely attained; for Gustavus Adolphus, irritated, did not appease his resentment until a free passage was granted to his troops through the territory of Treves.

While this affair was carrying on between Treves and France, the king's generals had driven all the Spanish garrisons from the electorate of Mentz, and Gustavus Adolphus himself had finished the conquest of this country by the taking of Kreutznach. To preserve this conquest, the Chancellor Oxenstiern must remain upon the Rhine with a part of the army, while the king, at the head of the main army, went to seek for the enemy in Franconia.

In the mean time, Count Tilly and the Swedish general Horn, whom Gustavus Adolphus had left in the circle with eight thousand men, had disputed the ground with more or less success. The bishopric of Bamberg, above all, had been the theatre of their devastations. Called towards the Rhine by his other projects, the king had left to his general the chastisement of this perfidious bishop, whose activity justified the monarch's confidence: in a short time he subjugated a great part of the bishopric to the Swedish arms, and the capital itself, abandoned by the Imperial garrison, was carried by assault. The banished bishop then pressed the Elector of Bavaria to furnish him with assistance; and this, at last, put an end to Tilly's inactivity. This general, commanded by the orders of his master to re-establish the bishop

in his states, collected his scattered troops in the Upper Palatinate, and approached Bamberg himself with an army of twenty thousand men. Gustavus Horn, firmly resolved to defend his conquest against a superior enemy, waited for the Imperialists behind the walls of Bamberg; but he saw taken from him, by Tilly's vangarde alone, what he had hoped to be able to dispute with his whole army. An unexpected confusion among his troops, and which all the general's presence of mind could not repair, opened the town to the enemy, and it was not without difficulty that the troops, baggage, and cannon, were saved. The re-taking of Bamberg was the fruit of this victory. But Tilly, notwithstanding all his diligence, could not overtake the Swedish general, who retired in good order upon the Maine. The king's appearance in Franconia, where Gustavus Horn had conducted the remains of his troops to him at Kitzingen, soon put an end to Tilly's conquests, and constrained him by a timely retreat to provide for his own safety.

The king had made a general review of his troops at Aschaffenburg, and their number, after the junction of Gustavus Horn, of Banner, and of the Duke of Weimar, amounted to about forty thousand men. Nothing could now stop his march towards Franconia: the Count of Tilly, far too feeble to resist so superior an enemy, had retired, in all haste, towards the Danube. The king now found himself equally distant from Bohemia and Bavaria, and Maximilian, not knowing on what side the conqueror would direct his steps, hesitated to make a decision. The route that Tilly was now to take must determine the choice of the monarch, and decide the fate of both provinces. Upon the approach of so formidable an enemy, it was dangerous to leave Bavaria without defence to cover

the Austrian frontiers; but it was still more dangerous to call Tilly into Bavaria, and by so doing attract the enemy into this country, and make it the theatre of a destructive war. At length patriotic love gained the ascendancy in the heart of Maximilian over the doubts of the politician, and Tilly was ordered to defend the Bavarian frontiers, whatever might be the consequences thereof. The Imperial city of Nuremberg received with transports of joy the defender of the Protestants and the liberty of Germany, and the enthusiasm of the inhabitants broke forth upon his appearance in striking expressions of delight and admiration. Gustavus himself could not suppress his astonishment at beholding himself in the centre of Germany, in a city where he had never hoped to erect his standards. The nobleness and grace of his person still increased the impression in his favour which his glorious deeds had produced before, and the affability with which he received the salutations of this town gained to him in an instant all hearts. He now in person confirmed the alliance which he had concluded with them upon the shores of the Baltic; he excited the most ardent zeal among the inhabitants, and exhorted them all to the firmest union against the common enemy. After a short stay within the walls of Nuremberg, he followed his army towards the Danube, and arrived before the fortress of Donawerth before even they had expected the approach of an enemy. A numerous Bavarian garrison defended this place, and the commander, Rodolph Maximilian, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, shewed at first the most determined resolution to defend himself until Tilly's arrival; but the vigour with which Gustavus Adolphus commenced the siege of this place soon forced him to think of a quick and sure retreat, which he was happy enough to effect in the midst of a

most terrible fire from the Swedish artillery. The taking of Donawerth rendered the king master of the right bank of the Danube, and only the small river of the Lech now separated him from Bavaria. The immediate danger which threatened his territories awakened all Maximilian's activity; and, however easy he had made it for the enemy to penetrate to the frontiers of his states, he was now resolutely determined to oppose his future progress. Tilly encamped on the other side of the Lech, near the small town of Rain, in an excellent position, surrounded by three rivers, and which could defy any attack. All the bridges across the Lech were broken down; numerous garrisons defended all the strong places along the river to Augsburg. For a long time this Imperial town had shewn its impatience to imitate the example of Nuremburg and Frankfort, and was restrained by a strong Bavarian garrison, and by the disarming of the inhabitants. The elector shut himself up, with all the troops which he could assemble, in Tilly's camp, as if it were the only post upon which all his hopes depended, the extreme point where the fortune of the Swedish arms was to be overthrown. Gustavus Adolphus soon appeared upon the shore opposite the Bavarian entrenchments, after he had vanquished the whole of the Augsburg territory upon the hither side of the river, and opened to his troops abundant resources in the country. It was in the month of March when this torrent, swelled by continual rains and the melting of the snow from the mountains of the Tyrol, rises to an extraordinary height, and rolls rapidly along between steep banks. This must be crossed, and a certain grave opened itself to the rash assailant from the opposite bank; death threatened him out of the mouth of the enemy's cannon. If, however, notwithstanding the fury of the waters, and the

terrible fire of the Bavarians who defended the passage, he should be able to effect a landing on the other side of the river, an enemy, fresh and full of ardour, awaited in an impregnable camp his troops overpowered by fatigue, and, who, instead of the repose which they needed, must certainly venture a battle. They must, with exhausted strength, scale the enemy's formidable entrenchments, which appeared to defy any attack. Beaten upon this river, they were lost without resource, as this same stream which retarded their victorious march cut off all retreat from them, if fortune should abandon them.

The Swedish council of war assembled now by the king laid full stress upon all these circumstances, to prevent the execution of so dangerous an enterprise; the bravest of them hesitated, and a venerable troop of warriors, grown gray in the service of the field, did not blush to own their fears. But the king's determination was fixed. "What!" said he to Gustavus Horn, who spoke for the rest; "we have crossed the Baltic Sea, the greatest rivers "of Germany, and shall we for this Lech, this rivulet, "abandon our enterprise?" He had already, in reconnoitring the place, which he had effected at the hazard of his own life, made the discovery that the bank on this side of the river was more elevated than the other, so as to favour materially the effect of the Swedish cannon. With great presence of mind he immediately profited by this circumstance; he caused three batteries to be erected upon the spot where the left bank of the Lech forms an angle opposite its right, from which seventy-two pieces of cannon kept up a cross fire upon the enemy. While this tremendous cannonade drove the Bavarians from the other side, he caused a bridge, with all possible expedition, to be thrown over the Lech. A thick smoke, produced by

burning wood and wet straw, concealed for a considerable time the advancing works from the enemy, and the uninterrupted fire of the Swedish artillery prevented the noise of the hatchets from being heard. The king himself, to encourage the soldiers by his example, fired more than sixty pieces of cannon with his own hand. The Bavarians answered this cannonade for two hours with equal vivacity, but not with the same success, because the Swedish batteries commanded the opposite bank of the river, and from their elevation served as a breastwork against the Bavarian artillery; these vainly endeavoured, by approaching the shore, to destroy the enemy's works; they were constantly repulsed by the superiority of the Swedish artillery, and the bridge was finished almost under their eyes. Tilly made on this dreadful day the greatest efforts to animate the courage of his soldiers, and no danger, however great, could keep him from the bank of the river. At length he met the death he sought: a cannon ball broke one of his legs; and soon after, Altringer, his brave companion in arms, was dangerously wounded in the head. Deprived of the presence of these two valiant chiefs, the Bavarians at last gave way, and Maximilian himself was, against his own opinion, led to a pusillanimous measure. Conquered by the representations of the expiring Tilly, whose natural firmness was overpowered by the near approach of death, he precipitately abandoned the impregnable post which he occupied, and a ford discovered by the Swedes, and of which their cavalry was about to try the passage, accelerated his cowardly retreat. The same night, before any soldier belonging to the enemy had crossed the Lech, he broke up his camp; and, without leaving the king time to disturb him on his march, he retired in the best order to Neuburg and

Ingolstadt. Gustavus Adolphus, who effected his passage on the following day, was very much astonished to find the enemy's camp totally abandoned. But the elector's flight excited his surprise much more when he perceived the strength of the camp which he had occupied. "Had "I been the Sovereign of Bavaria," cried he with astonishment, "never, though a cannon ball had taken away "my beard and chin, never would I have quitted a post "like this, and laid my states open to the enemy."

Bavaria now lay exposed to the conqueror, and the war, which until now had only carried on its ravages to the frontiers of this circle, threatened, for the first time, to extend itself into the bosom of its long-spared happy fields. But, before commencing the conquest of this country, which was ill-disposed towards him, he first rescued the Imperial town of Augsburg from the Bavarian yoke. The inhabitants took the oath of allegiance, and he assured himself of their fidelity by leaving a garrison therein. He advanced by forced marches to Ingolstadt, in order that the taking of this important fortress, which the elector covered with the greatest part of his army, should serve to secure his conquests in Bavaria at the same time that it gave him a firm footing upon the Danube. A short time after the king's arrival before Ingolstadt, Tilly terminated, within the walls of this city, a career which fortune had marked with the strangest caprices. Crushed by the superiority of Gustavus Adolphus, this general beheld, at the close of his life, all his former laurels fade, and satisfied by a chain of misfortunes the justice of fate and the avenging spirits of Magdeburg. In him the emperor's army, and that of the League, lost a chief whom they could not replace; the Catholic religion the most zealous of its defenders, and Maximilian of Bavaria the

most faithful of his servants; who sealed his fidelity by his death, and even performed the duty of a general in his dying moments. His last legacy, as it were, to the elector, was the advice to garrison the town of Ratisbon, in order to remain master of the Danube, and preserve his communication with Bohemia.

Animated by that confidence which a long train of triumphs always inspires, Gustavus Adolphus undertook the siege of Ingolstadt, and hoped, by the impetuosity of his first attack, to conquer all opposition. But the solidity of the fortifications, and the valour of the troops who defended them, presented obstacles which he had not met with since the battle of Breitenfeld; and it was a mere chance that the walls of Ingolstadt was not the termination of his military career. In reconnoitring the fortress, a twenty-four pounder killed his horse under him, so that he fell to the ground, and in an instant after the young Marquis of Baden, his favourite, was taken from his side by a cannon ball. The king rose again with quick presence of mind, and, to tranquilize his terrified army, immediately mounted another horse, with which he continued his reconnoitring.

The Bavarians had taken possession of the Imperial town of Ratisbon. The elector, faithful to Tilly's counsel, had by stratagem surprised this city, and a numerous garrison kept the inhabitants in obedience. This event all at once changed the King of Sweden's plan. He had flattered himself to see this Imperial town, almost entirely filled with Protestants, fall into his power, and he expected to find in it an ally equally as much devoted to him as Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Frankfort. The occupation of Ratisbon by the Bavarians delayed for a considerable time the execution of his favourite project,

which was to render himself master of the Danube, and to cut off from his adversary all his communications with Bohemia. He suddenly abandoned the walls of Ingolstadt, before which he lost, without any advantage, both his time and his soldiers; he penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, to attract the elector there for the protection of his states, and thus leave the banks of the Danube unprotected. All the country to Munich lay open to the conqueror; Mosburg, Landshut, all the bishopric of Freysingen, surrendered to him. But, if he did not meet on his route any regular corps of troops to combat, he found in the bosom of every Bavarian an implacable enemy, religious fanaticism, with which he had to contend. Soldiers who did not believe in the pope were, upon the Bavarian soil, a new and unheard-of apparition. The blind zeal of the priests had painted them to the inhabitants of the country as monsters, as children of hell, and their leader as the Antichrist. No wonder, then, that they thought themselves acquitted of all the duties of nature and humanity towards such a satanical race, and that they were authorized to execute the most terrible violences against them. Woe to the solitary soldier who fell into the hands of a horde of these barbarians! The most frightful tortures, the most refined, soon deprived the unfortunate victims of their lives. The spectacle of their mutilated bodies compelled the Swedish army to terrible reprisals. Gustavus Adolphus only did not sully by any act of vengeance his heroical character; and, in spite of the extreme mistrust with which his religion inspired the Bavarians, far from setting aside, as respected them, those rules which justice and humanity prescribe, he, on the contrary, made it so much the more his glory to cause

them to be respected, and thus, by the greatest moderation, to honour his religion.

The king's approach spread terror in the capital, which, deprived of defenders, and abandoned by its principal inhabitants, saw no means of deliverance but in the generosity of the vanquisher. The inhabitants hoped, by a quick and unconditional submission, to appease his resentment; therefore they dispatched deputies to him to Freysingen, charged to lay the keys of the town at his feet. The inhumanity of the Bavarians towards his soldiers, their master's hatred towards him, seemed to authorize his making a cruel usage of the right of conquest; some Germans even solicited to revenge upon this capital the sacking of Magdeburg, but the great mind of Gustavus Adolphus despised this mean revenge, and the defenceless state of the enemy disarmed his wrath. Content with the more noble triumph of conducting the Count Palatine, Frederic V. into the residence of his most cruel enemy, of the usurper of his states, he increased still the more the pomp of his glorious entry by the splendid appearance of moderation and of mildness.

The king found only an abandoned palace in Munich; the elector's treasures had been transported to Werfen. The magnificence of the electoral palace excited the king's astonishment, and he demanded of the overseer who shewed him the apartments the name of the architect. "He is no other than the elector himself," replied he. "I should like to have this architect," replied the king, "to send him to Stockholm." "That," replied the overseer, "he will take care to avoid." When they visited the arsenal, they found nothing but mere gun carriages, the guns were wanting; they had been buried in the ground with so much art, that no trace of them was to be

perceived; and, had it not been for the treachery of a workman, they would not have been discovered. "Arise "from the dead," cried the king, "and come to judg- "ment." They opened the ground, and discovered about a hundred and forty pieces of artillery. Many were of an extraordinary size, and the greatest part of them had been taken in the Palatinate and in Bohemia. A sum of thirty thousand ducats in gold, concealed in one of the largest, completed the satisfaction which this discovery caused to the king; but an event far more agreeable to the king would have been the appearance of the Bavarian army, which he had endeavoured to bring out of its entrenchments by penetrating into the centre of Bavaria. The king saw himself deceived in this expectation; no enemy appeared; however pressing were the solicitations which the Bavarians addressed to their sovereign to come and deliver them from the enemy's presence, he could not resolve to expose to the hazard of a battle the remains of his troops. Shut-up in Ratisbon, he waited for the succour which the Duke of Friedland was to bring him from Bohemia; and, in order to relax the activity of the enemy until the arrival of this expected assistance, he endeavoured to draw Gustavus into new negociations respecting neutrality. But the monarch, too often deceived, rendered this project vain; and the wilful delay of Wallenstein left Bavaria, in the mean time, to fall a prey to the Swedes.

Thus far had Gustavus Adolphus advanced from victory to victory without ever finding an enemy capable of resisting him. A part of Bavaria, of Suabia, the bishoprics of Franconia, the electorate of Mentz, were fallen into his power; an uninterrupted train of triumphs had conducted him to the frontiers of the Austrian monarchy, and

the most brilliant results had crowned the plan of the campaign which he had traced for himself after the battle of Breitenfeld. Though he had not been able, as he had hoped, to effect the union of the Protestant states of the empire, he had at least disarmed or weakened the members of the Catholic League; he had made war, in great part, at their expense, diminished the resources of the emperor, raised the courage of the weaker states, and had opened to himself a road to Austria, through countries allied to the emperor, and placed under contribution by his army. When the dread of his arms did not compel obedience, the friendship of the Imperial towns, which he knew how to render subservient to his interests by the double tie of religion and politicks, then rendered him the greatest service, and, so long as his arms preserved their superiority in the field, he might hope for every thing from their zeal. His conquests upon the Rhine cut off from the Spaniards all communication with the Lower Palatinate, in case the war in the Netherlands should leave them sufficient strength to take part in that of Germany. The Duke of Lorrain, since his last unsuccessful campaign, had preferred neutrality.

Notwithstanding the great number of garrisons which Gustavus Adolphus had been obliged to leave on his long march in the conquered places, his army had not diminished, and even now as powerful as at the commencement of his expedition, he found himself in the centre of Bavaria, ready and resolved to carry the war into the interior of Austria.

While Gustavus Adolphus made war with the greatest success in Germany, fortune did not less favour upon another theatre the arms of the Elector of Saxony, his ally. It may be remembered that, at the conference which took place at Halle between these two sovereigns

after the battle of Leipzig, the elector was charged with the conquest of Bavaria, whilst the king should advance into the states belonging to the League. The first fruit which the elector reaped of the victory of Breitenfeld was the re-taking of Leipzig, and soon after the entire circle was delivered from the presence of the Imperial troops. The Saxon general, Arnheim, re-enforced by those of the enemy's garrison who went over to him, directed his march towards Lusace, a province which an Imperial general, Rodolph of Tiefenbach, had overrun to punish the Elector of Saxony for his defection. Tiefenbach had already committed the accustomed devastations in this ill-defended province; he had already conquered many towns, and spread alarm in Dresden by his threatening approach, when suddenly the positive orders of the emperor suspended his march, and obliged him to carry the war from the Saxon states. Ferdinand perceived too late that he had pursued a false policy in driving the Elector of Saxony to extremities, and obliging him, as it may be said, to become the King of Sweden's ally. That which he had lost by an ill-timed presumption he would recover by a moderation still more untimely, and he committed a second fault in endeavouring to repair the first. To deprive his enemy of so powerful an ally, he employed the mediation of Spain, renewed his negociations with the elector, and, in order to render the success more easy, he ordered his general, Tiefenbach, immediately to evacuate the Saxon territory. But this humility of the emperor, far from producing the effect which he intended, did nothing but convince the elector of the embarrassment of his enemy, and of his own importance, and animated him rather the more vigorously to pursue the advantages he had already obtained. Besides, how could he, without

the blackest ingratitude, abandon an ally to whom he had given the most positive assurances of his fidelity, and to whom he was even indebted for the preservation of his states, nay, even of his electoral dignity?

—The Saxon army, at liberty then to renounce its expedition into Lusace, directed itself towards Bohemia, where a happy concurrence of circumstances seemed to promise it assured success. The flame of discord still subsisted in this kingdom, the first theatre of this sanguinary war, and the cruel oppression under which it groaned still furnished a new aliment to the general discontent. Wherever observation was directed throughout this unfortunate country, the traces were beheld of the most grievous alterations: entire districts had received new masters, and groaned at this moment under the abhorred yoke of Catholic rulers, whom the favour of the emperor or the Jesuits had clothed with the spoils of the banished Protestants. Others, profiting of the public misery, had obtained at an inconsiderable value the confiscated property of the proscribed. The blood of the principal defenders of liberty had been shed upon the scaffold, and those that a timely flight had saved from death now wandered in wretchedness far from their country, whilst the cowardly favourites of despotism revelled in their inheritance. But a yoke still more insupportable than that of these petty tyrants was the frightful intolerance which pressed, without distinction, upon all the Protestants of the kingdom. Exterior dangers, the serious resistance of the nation, however energetic were the terrible lessons of experience, could not put an end to the fury which animated the Jesuits to carry on the system of conversion. When the means of persuasion were without effect, they had recourse to the force of arms to bring back the wanderers

within the pale of the church. These cruel vexations were particularly exercised against the inhabitants of the valley of Joachim, in the frontier mountains between Bohemia and Misnia. Two Imperial commissaries, supported by as many Jesuits and fifteen musketeers, appeared in this peaceful valley to preach the gospel to the heretics; and, when the eloquence of the Jesuits did not suffice, heavy quarterings of the military, menaces of banishment, pecuniary fines, nothing was spared to attain the end which they proposed. But this time, however, the good cause was victorious, and the courageous resistance of this small people compelled the emperor shamefully to withdraw his orders for making converts. The example of the court served as a rule to all the Catholics of the kingdom, and justified, in some measure, all kinds of oppression which they were, in their arrogance, tempted to exercise against the Protestants. No wonder, then, that a party so violently persecuted desired a change, and cast their eyes with ardent desire upon their liberator, who now shewed himself upon the frontiers.

The Saxon army had already marched against Prague; all the places before which they appeared were abandoned by the Imperial garrisons. Schlœckenau, Tetschen, Aussig, Leutmeritz, fell successively into the hands of the enemy. Every Catholic village was given up to pillage; the alarm soon became general among the Papists; they then recollected their cruelties towards the Protestants, and did not dare to wait for the arrival of an avenging Protestant army. All those who professed the Catholic religion, and had any thing to lose, hastened from the country to the capital, which they as quickly abandoned. Prague itself was not prepared for a defence, and was too weak in men to sustain a siege of long continuance. The em-

peror had taken, too late, the resolution of sending fieldmarshal Tiefenbach to the succour of this capital; his Imperial orders had not yet reached his general's head quarters in Silesia, when the Saxon army had already arrived in the environs of Prague. The citizens of this city, one half of whom were Protestants, shewed little zeal, and the feeble garrison left no hope of a long resistance. In this fearful emergency the Catholic inhabitants threw their regards and founded their hopes upon Wallenstein, who lived retired within the walls of Prague; but, far from employing his military talents and the weight of his great influence to save the capital, he seized the welcome opportunity to gratify his revenge. Though it was not Wallenstein who invited the Saxons to Prague, it was certainly his conduct which facilitated its conquest to them. Although this city was not in a state to sustain a long siege, it was nevertheless not unprovided with the necessary means of maintaining itself until the arrival of assistance, and an Imperial colonel, the Count of Maradas, actually shewed the desire to undertake the defence of it; but, not being invested with any command, and only called by his zeal and his bravery to this bold measure, he did not dare to execute it without the consent of an officer of a superior rank to his own. He therefore consulted the Duke of Friedland, whose approbation might supply the want of an Imperial authority, and to whom Ferdinand at this extremity, by an express order of the court, referred the Bohemians generally. But Wallenstein artfully replied that he was unemployed, and absolutely retired from political affairs. It was thus that, by cold objections, supported by all the authority of a superior, he suppressed the generous resolution of this officer. To complete the discouragement and the general alarm, he at

last abandoned the town with his whole court, however little he had to fear from the enemy after the taking of the place; and it was by this very retreat that it fell into the power of the Saxons, because by his quitting it it seemed as if he despaired of its salvation. All the Catholic nobles, the generals, the troops, the clergy, all the crown officers, followed his example. The people employed the whole night in saving themselves and their property. All the roads to Vienna were filled with fugitives, who did not recover from their consternation till their arrival in the capital. Maradas himself, despairing of the safety of Prague, followed the crowd, and conducted his little force to Tabor, where he resolved to await the event.

A mournful silence reigned in Prague when the Saxons appeared the next morning before the town. No preparations for defence on the part of the inhabitants; not a single musket-shot from the ramparts that announced resistance. On the contrary, a crowd of spectators, that curiosity had drawn from the city to view the enemy's army, and the peaceable confidence with which they approached it, resembled rather a friendly greeting than the reception of an enemy. The general report of this group informed the Swedes that no soldiers remained in the town, and that the government had fled to Budweiss. This absence of defence, as inconceivable as unexpected, excited all the mistrust of Arnheim, as the approach of the troops that were coming to the succour of the place from Silesia was no secret to him, and as the Saxon army was deprived of the necessary siege equipage, and not strong enough in number, to hope to take by assault so great a city. The fear of falling into a snare made him redouble his vigilance, and he was still in this uncertitude when the steward of the Duke of Friedland,

whom he perceived in the crowd, came to him and confirmed this incredible news. "The town is ours without "drawing a sword," cried he full of surprise to his colonel; and caused it to be immediately summoned by a trumpeter. The citizens of Prague, shamefully abandoned by their defenders, had long since made their resolution; their only care at this moment was to save, by an advantageous capitulation, their liberty and property. When they had obtained what they demanded, and the capitulation was signed by the Saxon general in the name of his master, the gates of the city were opened without resistance, and the Saxon army made its triumphant entry on Nov. 11, 1631. Soon after the elector himself arrived, to receive in person the oath of allegiance of this new people, who came to place themselves under his protection; for it was only under this title that the three towns of Prague surrendered to him, in order to preserve by this means their relations with the Austrian monarchy. Although the dread of reprisals was extreme among the Catholics upon the approach of the Saxons, their surprise was not the less when they saw the elector's moderation, and the severe discipline of his troops. The fieldmarshal Arnheim shewed his attention upon this occasion in particular towards the Duke of Friedland on this day. Not content with having spared all the duke's territories upon his march, he even placed guards at his palace, that none of his property might be purloined. The Catholics enjoyed the full and entire liberty of conscience; and, of all the churches which had been taken from the Protestants, four only were returned to them. The Jesuits alone, whom the public voice accused as the authors of all the oppressions under which the people had groaned till then, were

excluded from the general pardon and obliged to quit the kingdom.

John George, triumphant, did not forget, however, the submission and respect which the Imperial name inspired, and that conduct which a general such as Tilly or Wallenstein would certainly have pursued towards him at Dresden, he did not permit towards the emperor at Prague. Distinguishing carefully the enemy against which he made war from the supreme head of the empire, to whom he owed respect, he did not even venture to meddle with the emperor's furniture, but he made no difficulty to consider as a good booty the enemy's cannon, and to cause them to be transported to Dresden. He would not lodge in the Imperial palace, but at the hotel of Lichtenstein, too discreet to occupy the apartments of him from whom he took a crown. If this trait was reported as that of a great man, of a hero, it would excite a just title to our admiration; but the well-known character of this prince authorizes us to doubt if, in this forbearance, we should rather honour the fine triumph of modesty than pity the littleness of a weak mind, which even in the height of good fortune preserves all its weakness, and that liberty itself cannot break of its accustomed fetters.

The taking of Prague was soon followed by the submission of most of the towns of Bohemia, and operated a quick change in all the kingdom. Many Protestant gentlemen, who had wandered until now in misery, returned to their country, and the Count of Thurn, the famous author of the Bohemian troubles, could experience the glory of re-appearing as a vanquisher upon the theatre of his crime and condemnation. He made his triumphant entry across the same bridge where the heads of his followers offered to his view the terrible image of the fate which

had been reserved for him, and his first care was to remove these frightful objects. The proscribed immediately took possession of their property, abandoned by the last possessors, who had fled. Without thinking of reimbursing these the sums they had expended, and although they had even received the price of the sale, they took all that had once belonged to them; and many among them had cause to praise the wise administration of their predecessors, for the fields and cattle had singularly prospered in their hands. The apartments were furnished and ornamented at great expense; the cellars, left empty by the former proprietors, had been since abundantly filled, the stables occupied, and the store-houses well provided. But, mistrustful of a fortune so unexpected, they hastened to sell their possessions, and converted these immoveable goods into transferable property. The presence of the Saxons raised the courage of all the Protestants of the kingdom, and, in the country as well as in the capital, they were seen running in crowds to the newly-opened Protestant churches. Many among them, whom fear alone restrained to popery, now openly professed the new doctrine, and many Catholics, newly converted, abjured with joy a confession forced upon them to return to their former persuasion. All the moderation of the new Government could not prevent the just resentment breaking out, which this ill-used people now manifested against the oppressors of their most sacred liberty. They made a terrible use of the rights which they had recovered, and in many places they did not extinguish their hatred against a religion forced upon them but with the blood of its adherents.

In the mean time the succours which the Imperial generals of the emperor, Goetz and Tiefenbach, led from Silesia, ar-

rived in Bohemia, where they made a junction with some regiments of the Count of Tilly which came from the Upper Palatinate. Arnheim, not being inclined to leave to the enemy time to receive new re-enforcements, marched to meet him with a part of his army from Prague, and attacked his entrenchments upon the Elbe, near to Limburg, with the greatest vigour. After a hard combat, in which he suffered a considerable loss, he succeeded in driving the enemy from his strong position, constrained him to repass the Elbe, and to break down the bridge upon which they had come over. He could not, however, prevent the Imperialists doing him much mischief in partial combats, and the Croats themselves even from extending their incursions to the gates of Prague.

However brilliant and promising the opening of the campaign had been to the Saxons in Bohemia, the results did not correspond with the expectations of Gustavus Adolphus. Instead of pursuing their success without relaxation, instead of placing itself in communication through Bohemia with the Swedish army, and of falling with it into the centre of the Austrian monarchy, they exhausted their forces in a petty warfare, in which they experienced frequent reverses, and lost in useless operations much precious time, destined to greater enterprises ; but the ulterior conduct of John George explained the motives which had prevented him from profiting of all his advantages over the emperor, and of seconding, by better concerted measures, the projects of the King of Sweden.

The greatest part of Bohemia was now lost to the emperor, and the Saxons could march on one side against Austria, while the King of Sweden opened himself a way by Suabia and Bavaria towards the hereditary states of

the emperor. A long war had exhausted the strength of the Austrian monarchy, ruined the provinces, diminished its armies. The glory of their triumphs, the confidence in themselves, the subordination, the discipline, which gave to the Swedish general so great a superiority in the campaign, were all lost to them. The greatest part of the emperor's allies were disarmed, the approaching danger had shook the fidelity of the others. Maximilian of Bavaria, the firmest support of Austria, appeared himself inclined to neutrality. The suspected alliance of this prince with France had for a long time caused considerable apprehensions to the emperor. The Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, the Elector of Mentz, the Duke of Lorrain, were driven from their states, or dangerously threatened. Treves was upon the point of placing itself under the protection of France; whilst Gustavus Adolphus drove the Spaniards from the borders of the Rhine, the valiant Hollanders occupied them in the Netherlands. The truce concluded between Poland and the King of Sweden still continued. Ragotzki, prince of Transylvania, successor of Bethlem Gabor, and inheritor of his turbulent genius, again threatened the frontiers of Hungary; the Porte itself made serious preparations to profit of the first favourable moment. Most of the Protestant states of the empire, emboldened by Gustavus Adolphus's success, had openly taken part against the emperor, and concurred with all their means to favour the operations of their protector. All the resources which the effrontery of Tilly and Wallenstein had obtained in these states by exaction and violence were exhausted at this time. These vast places of recruit, these magazines, these asylums of Austria, were lost to Ferdinand, and the war could no longer be made, as formerly, at foreign expense. To complete the

disastrous position of this monarch, a violent insurrection broke out all at once upon the borders of the Ens. The blind zeal for conversions which still animated the Government in these moments of distress, armed the Protestants in these countries, and fanaticism brandished its torch in this kingdom, while the enemy besieged it on all sides.

After so long a continuance of good fortune, after a train of splendid triumphs, after so many brilliant conquests, after so much blood unprofitably shed, the Austrian monarch saw himself, for the second time, upon the border of the abyss which had threatened to engulph him at the beginning of his reign. Should Bavaria embrace a neutrality, Saxony resist the tempting offers, and France resolve upon attacking the Spanish power in the Netherlands, Italy, and Catalonia, the proud edifice of the Austrian greatness would fall, the allied sovereigns would divide its spoils among themselves, and the politic body of Germany would see itself threatened with an entire revolution.

The whole chain of these misfortunes began with the battle of Breitenfeld: the loss of this important battle made it evident that the Austrian power had for a long time tended towards its ruin; and that the deceitful splendor of a great name had concealed until now, to the eyes of the emperor, the fate which menaced it. If we seek for the causes which gave the Swedes so marked a superiority in the field, it will be principally found in the unlimited power of their chief. Gustavus Adolphus concentrated all the strength of his party in one point; fettered by no higher authority, he was at liberty to profit of the most favourable occasions to promote his ends, and no one prescribed laws to him.

—Since Wallenstein's retreat and Tilly's defeat, the party of the League and the emperor presented a state of things entirely opposite. The generals did not enjoy any consideration in the minds of the soldiers; they were deprived of the necessary liberty to act with success. The army neither knew subordination nor discipline. The different corps, dispersed without order, did not act unanimously in their operations. The states were deficient in willingness, the chiefs in harmony, in promptitude, in their resolutions, and in vigour to execute them. It was not so much their superior strength, as the wise use which they knew how to make of it, which gave the enemy so decided a superiority over the emperor.

Ferdinand and the League possessed the means, but not the spirit, that was requisite to convert them to a proper use. Had Tilly even preserved all his military reputation, the mistrust entertained of Bavaria would not permit him to confide the fate of the Austrian monarchy to a general who made it his glory to be absolutely devoted to the House of Bavaria. Ferdinand's most pressing want was that of a general who had at the same time the art of creating an army, of conducting it, and who would consecrate his services to the Austrian House without reserve. The choice of such a general now occupied the private council of the emperor, and divided the members of it. In order to oppose a sovereign to a sovereign, and to inflame the courage of the troops by the presence of their supreme ruler, Ferdinand, in the first heat of his zeal, offered to put himself at their head; but it was not difficult to destroy a resolution which despair alone had created, and which calm reflection soon refuted. However, if the Imperial dignity and the functions of sovereignty were

opposed to Ferdinand's taking upon him such a command, circumstances permitted his son to be invested with it, a young prince full of talents and bravery, and the dearest hope of the Austrian subjects. Called by his birth to the defence of a monarchy, from which he already possessed two crowns, Ferdinand III. King of Bohemia and Hungary, united, with the natural dignity of successor to the throne, the esteem of the armies and the love of the people, whose assistance was then so necessary for the continuation of the war. This beloved successor to the throne could alone hazard the imposing of new burdens upon subjects already overwhelmed with them. His presence in the army appeared alone capable of extinguishing the jealousy of the chiefs, and of recalling, by the power of his name, the relaxed discipline of the troops to its first vigour. If he yet was deficient in that wisdom, in that experience, which age alone gives, it could easily be supplied by a happy choice of counsellors, who, under the cover of his name, would find themselves invested with the most extensive authority. However specious were the reasons with which a part of the ministry supported this proposition, it found nevertheless invincible obstacles in the mistrust, perhaps even in the jealousy, of the emperor and the desperate situation of affairs. How dangerous it was to confide the entire fate of the monarcy to a young man, who could not himself act without an instructor! What inconceivable temerity to oppose to the first general of the age a young warrior, whose talents for the important post had not yet been tried by any undertaking whatever, whose name, a stranger to renown as yet, was incapable of reanimating the extinct confidence of the army! What new burdens must at the same time be placed upon the subjects to en-

tertain the costly state of a prince royal at the head of it; a state which the prejudices of the age rendered inseparable from his presence in the army! What danger, at last, for the prince himself to open his political career by the exercise of a command which rendered him the scourge of his people and the oppressor of countries over which he was at some future day to reign! (But it was not sufficient to have found a general for the army, an army must also be found for the general.)

Since Wallenstein's forced retreat, the emperor had combated more with the troops of the League and of Bavaria, than with his own; and it was precisely this dependence upon equivocal friends from which it was desirous to draw him at this time by the nomination of a general of his own. But, without the all-constraining force of gold, without the magic of a great name, illustrious by victory, what hope remained of creating an army where none now existed; an army that could compete for discipline, martial spirit, and promptitude of resolution, with the redoutable phalanxes of the Swedish conqueror?

There was but one man in all Europe capable of effecting such a prodigy, and this man they had mortally offended. At length the Duke of Friedland saw the epoch arrive which was to offer to his wounded pride the greatest satisfaction. Fate had declared herself his avenger, and the uninterrupted train of disasters which since his retreat had overwhelmed the House of Austria, forced the emperor to acknowledge, that in losing this general he had lost his right arm. Every defeat his troops met with renewed his wounds; every lost place reproached him with his weakness and his ingratitude. Happy enough, however, if, in losing Wallenstein, he had had but to re-

gret the general, the defender of his states; but he had made an enemy of him, and this enemy was the most dangerous of all, because he was the least of all defended against the wiles of treachery.

Distant from the theatre of war, condemned to a tormenting inactivity, whilst his rivals were reaping laurels in the field of glory, the proud Duke of Friedland contemplated with feigned moderation the terrible revolutions of fortune which happened to Ferdinand; and, in a glittering and theatrical pomp, concealed the dark projects of his active genius. Actuated by a glowing sensibility while his exterior announced calmness and serenity, he nourished in silence the terrible resolutions which his vengeance and ambition suggested. All that he owed to the emperor was effaced from his remembrance, all that he had done for him, on the contrary, was engraved in striking characters in his memory. Insatiable of grandeur and power, he was glad of an ingratitude which seemed to disengage him from his obligation, and freed him from all his duties towards the author of his fortune. The pretext of a legitimate vengeance justified all these plans in his eyes, all the projects which his ambition created. In the same degree that he saw the circle of his activity narrowed without, he felt within him his hopes enlarged; and his enthusiastic imagination lost itself in a crowd of projects which, in any other person, would have passed for the reveries of a distracted mind. His services had carried him as high as it was possible for a man to elevate himself. All that a private man, all that a citizen, could obtain, without passing the limits that his duty traced, fortune had granted him. Even until the moment of his dismission, his pretensions had not met with any obstacle,

his ambition experienced no bounds. The blow which overthrew him at the diet of Ratisbon, shewed to him the enormous difference which separates the power of the master from that confided to the subject. Drawn all at once from the giddy height of his grandeur, he compared the power that had just escaped him with that which had been taken from him, and his ambition perceived the steps which yet remained to him to obtain his ends; but it was not without having felt the terrible effects of supreme power, that he had dared to carry his culpable views so far. The emperor, in depriving him of his dignities, put into his mind the desire of despoiling him of his authority. If Wallenstein had not experienced any offence, full of respect for the majesty of the throne, happy in his own glory, and of holding the first rank among the defenders of the Austrian monarch, he had probably terminated his career near him. It was not till after having been violently dismissed from his post, that he lost sight of his duties, and, in despair, meditated the destruction of his master. Gustavus Adolphus travelled through the north of Germany as a conqueror; all the strong places fell into his power successively, and the choicest of the Imperial troops fell at Leipzig. The report of this defeat soon reached Wallenstein's ears, who, retired at Prague, contemplated in the silence of retreat the raging storm of war. All the successes of the northern hero, which filled the Catholic party with fear, were so many presages of future fortune and grandeur to him—it was only for him that Gustavus Adolphus laboured. This monarch had hardly begun to fix, by his exploits, the attention of Europe, when the Duke of Friedland lost not an instant in seeking his friendship, and in endeavouring to make a common cause with this successful enemy of Austria. The ex-

iled Count of Thurn, who had long since devoted his services to the King of Sweden, undertook to carry Wallenstein's congratulations to him, and to invite him to a closer alliance with the duke. Wallenstein desired to have fifteen thousand men from the king; and, with this army, and the troops which he undertook to raise himself, was to conquer Bohemia, Moravia, surprise Vienna, and drive the emperor, his master, into Italy. Whatever mistrust a proposition so unexpected and such exaggerated promises must naturally inspire in Gustavus Adolphus, he was, however, too good a judge of services coldly to reject so important a friend as Wallenstein. This general, encouraged by the flattering behaviour of the king, renewed his proposition after the battle of Breitenfeld, and insisted upon a positive reply; but the monarch, too prudent to expose his reputation in following the chimerical projects of such a rash character, did not trust to the sincerity of a man who announced himself to him as a traitor. Fearing to confide so great a number of troops to him, he excused himself upon the weakness of his army, which would suffer too much upon their march through the empire by so great a diminution, and Gustavus lost, perhaps, by too great a caution, the opportunity of quickly terminating the war. In the end he endeavoured, but in vain, to renew the negociation; the favourable moment had escaped, and Wallenstein's offended pride never forgave him this neglect. But this refusal of the king's probably only accelerated the inevitable rupture between two such characters.

Both born to give laws, not to receive them, they could never have remained united in an enterprise which, more than any other, exacted deference and reciprocal sacrifices.

Wallenstein was *nothing* where he was not *every thing;* he must either remain in inaction, or he must act with unlimited power or not at all. Gustavus Adolphus did not the less detest all kind of dependance; and he was within a very little of breaking his advantageous alliance with the French court, because the pretensions of this power enchained his will. Wallenstein had made useless efforts to bend the Protestant party to his designs, and from that time his arm became lost to them. The Swedish monarch was still less inclined to submit to foreign direction. If the king's pretensions could not but be insupportable to the duke when in quality of allies they acted in concert for the success of the same operations, what must they be when they came to divide the spoils? The proud monarch could descend to accept the succour of a rebellious subject against the emperor; he could acknowledge, with royal generosity his important services; but he could never lose sight of his dignity, nor that of other kings, so far as to consent that Wallenstein should receive as a recompence the elevated price which his audacious ambition dared to place upon it; he would never consent to reward a serviceable treachery with a crown. Wallenstein must then expect that, even in the case of all Europe being silent, he would meet with in Gustavus Adolphus an invincible opponent to the execution of his designs upon the crown of Bohemia, and Gustavus Adolphus was the only man in all Europe who could oppose such an enterprise with success. Elevated to the dictatorship in Germany even by the means of Wallenstein, he might at length turn his arms against this general, and discharge himself of all gratitude towards a traitor. Wallenstein could not then subsist at the side of such an ally; and probably it was this idea, not his supposed projects upon

the Imperial throne, that, upon the death of the King of Sweden, made him cry out—"It is fortunate, both for "him and for me, that he is no more! The German em- "pire could not support two such chiefs."

The first trial of vengeance which Wallenstein attempted against the Austrian House failed; but his resolution did not the less remain unaltered, and he only changed the means. What he failed in with the King of Sweden he hoped, with less difficulty and more advantage, to obtain from the Elector of Saxony, whom he was as certain of directing according to his will as he had been doubtful of ever succeeding with Gustavus Adolphus in this respect. In continual intelligence with Arnheim, his old friend, he endeavoured from this moment to form a close alliance with Saxony, by which he hoped to render himself equally formidable to the Emperor and the King of Sweden. If his plan succeeded, he took from the Swedish monarch all his influence in Germany, and he might flatter himself so much the more with finding the Elector of Saxony disposed to second his views, as the jealousy of this prince was excited by the power of Gustavus Adolphus, and as his attachment, already much weakened to him, was still more so by the imperious tone of this monarch. If Wallenstein succeeded in detaching Saxony from Sweden, and in forming with the first a third party in the empire, the event of the war was in his hands. By this means he would satisfy the vengeance with which he was animated against the emperor, punish the King of Sweden for his disdain, and, upon the ruin of both, construct the foundation of his own grandeur. But the execution of such a plan demanded an army which should be entirely devoted to him; now, this army could not be raised with such secrecy that its existence should not

create suspicions at the Imperial court, and the project would be destroyed in its beginning. This army must not previously be acquainted with its criminal destination, as it was difficult to believe that it would obey the call of a traitor, and serve against its legitimate sovereign. The better to insure his success, Wallenstein must then openly recruit under the Imperial authority, and must receive from the emperor himself 'an unlimited power over the troops.' But how was he to attain this, if he were not again re-established as commander-in-chief, and the conducting of the war left unconditionally to him? Nevertheless, neither his pride nor his interests permitted him to solicit a post whose power was limited by the emperor: it was from the fears of this monarch alone that he wished to force an unlimited control. In order to be able to dictate the conditions under which he would accept the command, he must wait till his master pressed him to undertake it. This was the advice which Arnheim gave him, and such was also the aim which his profound policy and indefatigable activity endeavoured to attain. Convinced that only the uttermost necessity could conquer the emperor's irresolution, and render of no avail the efforts of Bavaria and Spain, his most ardent adversaries, he only occupied himself henceforth in favouring the progress of the enemy, and augmenting the distress of his master. It was probably by his stimulation and advice that the Saxons, who had already taken the road to Lusace and Silesia, turned suddenly towards Bohemia, and invaded this kingdom without defence. Their rapid conquests in this country were also his work. The discouragement which he affected extinguished all idea of resistance, and it was above all his precipitate retreat from Prague that delivered this capital to the enemy. In

a conference which took place at Kaunitz between the Saxon general and him, a conference which had for its pretext negociations relative to peace, they probably placed the seal to the conspiracy, and the conquest of Bohemia was the first fruit of this interview. While he employed all his efforts to promote the calamities of the House of Austria; while the Swedish army seconded his views by its rapid progress upon the Rhine; his partisans and paid friends in Vienna made the most bitter complaints at the public misfortunes; they represented the dismission of the former general as the only cause of the past disasters. "Wallenstein would never have permitted "things to come to the point which they are arrived at, "if he had remained at the head of affairs," exclaimed a thousand voices; and this opinion found ardent defenders even in the emperor's privy council.

The monarch, pressed by circumstances, had no occasion for all these clamours to open his eyes to the merits of his general and his past precipitation. His dependance upon the League and Bavaria was not long in becoming insupportable to him; but this same dependance did not permit him to shew any mistrust, and to irritate the elector by the recal of the Duke of Friedland. In the mean time, the danger was at its height, and the weakness of Bavaria became still more and more manifest. In this critical position, he did not hesitate to listen to the Duke's friends, and examine the reasons they gave for his recal. Wallenstein's immense riches, the universal consideration which he enjoyed, the celerity with which they had seen him six years before raise an army of forty thousand men, the small expense which the supporting of this numerous army had occasioned, his exploits at the head of these troops; in fine, the zeal and fidelity

which he had shewn for the honour of the Imperial throne: all this was still strong in the monarch's remembrance, and represented this general as the only one who could re-establish the equilibrium of arms between the belligerent powers, save the House of Austria, and maintain the Catholic religion. However humiliating it was to the proud emperor to make a positive avowal of his former precipitation, and of the extremity to which he was reduced at this moment; however grievous it was to him to descend from his elevated rank to that of a supplicant; notwithstanding his suspicion of the fidelity of so bitterly offended and implacable a man, and notwithstanding the displeasure which the Spanish minister and the Elector of Bavaria expressed at this step; yet the necessity of the case surmounted every other consideration, and the Duke's friends were charged to sound him upon this point, and make him see the possibility of his reinstatement.

Informed of all that passed in the emperor's cabinet to his advantage, Wallenstein possessed self-command sufficient over himself to conceal the joy of his inward triumph, and to affect the most complete indifference. The moment of revenge was come, and his proud heart delighted to repay the emperor's mortification in its fullest extent. With artful eloquence he expatiated upon the happy lot of a private station, which he had enjoyed since his retirement from the political world. He declared, "that he "had too long tasted the charm of ease and independence "to sacrifice them to the vain phantom of glory, and the "uncertain favour of princes. All his desires for greatness "and power were now extinct, and repose was the only "object of his wishes." Not to betray any impatience, he declined the emperor's invitation to his court, but repaired at the same time to Znaim, in Moravia, in order to facilitate the negociations. They endeavoured, at first,

to restrain the immense power with which he was to be invested by means of a superior, hoping thereby to satisfy the Elector of Bavaria. The emperor's envoys, Questenberg and Werdenberg, who, as old friends of the duke, were charged with this delicate negociation, had orders to mention the King of Hungary for this station, who should be present at the army, and learn the art of war under Wallenstein. But the bare mention of this name threatened to cut off the negociation at once.— "Never, never," cried the duke, "will I suffer a second "to divide the command with me, were it even God him- "self!" After they had abandoned this point to him, so revolting to the Duke's pride, the Imperial favourite and minister, Prince Eggenberg, and Wallenstein's steady friend and defender, was sent in person to him. He made, for a considerable time, useless efforts to conquer his affected repugnance. "The monarch," said the minister, "in losing Wallenstein, had lost the most precious "jewel in his crown; but it was in opposition to himself, "and only by constraint, that he was carried to this suffi- "ciently-lamented step. His esteem for the Duke was "undiminished; he had never withdrawn his favour from "him; the strongest proof which he could receive of it was "the exclusive confidence that the emperor placed in his "fidelity and talents now to repair the faults of his prede- "cessors, and change entirely the face of things. It would "be acting nobly to sacrifice his just resentment to the "public welfare; it would be great and worthy of him to "oppose redoubled zeal and activity to the odious imputa- "tions of his enemies. This triumph over himself," added the prince in concluding, "would crown his inestimable "merits, and render him the greatest man of his age." Such humiliating confessions and flattering assurances

appeared at last to disarm the anger of the Duke of Friedland; but he did not give ear to the seducing propositions of the minister till all the resentment with which his heart was oppressed had exhaled against the emperor, till after he had pointed out in the most pompous terms the whole extent of his services, and had to the uttermost humiliated the monarch who now had occasion for his assistance. As if he had only yielded to the force of the reasons which he had heard, he consented, with a proud generosity, to that which was the object of his most ardent wishes, and favoured the ambassador with a ray of hope. Instead of immediately terminating the emperor's embarrasment by a full consent, he only granted a part of his demands, in order to place a higher value upon those which he refused. He accepted the command but for three months, only to organize an army, but not to conduct it himself. He was inclined, by means of this formation, to make known his power and abilities, and shew the emperor that his preservation depended upon Wallenstein. Convinced that an army which his name alone drew from insignificance would return to insignificance when deserted by its creator, it would only serve him as a pretext to obtain the more important concessions from his master; and, nevertheless, Ferdinand congratulated himself that he had gained so much.

Wallenstein did not delay to fulfil a promise that all Germany considered as chimerical, and which Gustavus himself considered as extravagant; but the foundation of this undertaking was laid a long time back, and he only now set in motion the machines which had been prepared for this purpose for some years past. The report of Wallenstein's armament was loudly spread, when bands of warriors ran from all parts of the Austrian monarchy to

try their fortune under this celebrated and experienced general. Many of those who had formerly fought under his banners, who had admired his greatness and experienced his generosity, appeared all at once from obscurity to partake of his glory, or to enrich themselves under his command. The greatness of the pay which was promised drew thousands of individuals to him, and the rich entertainment to be furnished to the soldiers at the expense of the peasants was to the latter an invincible motive to embrace a military life, rather than suffer unde their former oppression. All the Austrian princes were equally subjected to the expenses of this costly armament: no state was exempted from the taxes; no dignity, no privileges, were exempted from the capitation. The Spanish court and the King of Hungary subscribed a considerable sum, the ministers made magnificent gifts, and Wallenstein himself furnished two hundred thousand dollars from his own funds to hasten the preparations. He supported the poorer officers from his own coffers, and by his example, by brilliant advancements, and still more brilliant promises, he engaged the richer officers to raise troops at their own expense. Whoever raised a corps at his own cost obtained the command of it. The difference of religion was no obstacle for nominations to the different ranks; fortune, bravery, and experience, were held in more esteem than faith. This equality of justice towards all sects, and yet more the certainty that the actual armament had not religion for its end, satisfied the Protestant subject, and disposed him to support his share of the public burden without complaint. The Duke at the same time did not neglect to negociate in his own name with foreign powers to obtain both men and money. He persuaded the Duke of Lorrain to take up arms a second time

on account of the emperor. Poland furnished him with Cossacks, Italy with ammunition. Before the expiration of the third month, the army which he assembled in Moravia amounted to upwards of forty thousand men, principally drawn from Moravia, Silesia, and the German provinces of the Austrian House. What all had thought impossible Wallenstein executed in the shortest time, to the great astonishment of Europe. Hardly, before he came forward, had they hoped to be able to assemble so many hundred men as he had raised thousands, which the enchantment of his name, his money, and his genius, called to arms. This newly-created army, abundantly furnished with all things necessary, commanded by experienced officers, animated by that enthusiasm which is the assured forerunner of victory, waited for nothing but the signal of its leader to prove itself worthy of him by its bravery and its exploits.

Wallenstein had fulfilled his promise. The army was ready for the campaign; he now retired, and left it to the emperor to choose a chief. But it would have been as easy to raise a second army like this, as to find any other leader for it than Wallenstein himself. This formidable army, the emperor's last hope, was but an illusion, if the enchanter who created it should withdraw his support from it: brought forth by the magical power of Wallenstein, the retreat of this chief would cause it to fall into its former insignificance. The officers were either bound to him as debtors or creditors; they found themselves attached to his interests and the continuation of his power; he was the only man who could make good to the soldiers the immense promises which had been made to them to induce them to enter into his service: his word was the only security of all their hopes; a blind confidence in his

omnipotent power, the only tie that held together the different impulses of their zeal in one active public spirit: there was an end to the fortune of all, if he who was bound for the accomplishment thereof withdrew. The duke's refusal was any thing else than serious, yet he skilfully availed himself of this means of intimidation to extort from the emperor his consent to the extraordinary propositions which he made to him. The enemy's progress rendered the danger more pressing every day: the means of arresting it were there; it depended upon one man to put an end to the universal calamity. The Prince of Eggenburg, Wallenstein's friend, then received, for the third and last time, the order to prevail upon the duke, at whatever sacrifice, to take the command. He found him at Znaim, in Moravia, pompously surrounded by the soldiers, whose possession the emperor longed for. The proud subject received his master's envoy as a suppliant. "Never, replied he, "could he place confidence in a reinstate-"ment which was derived from the emperor's necessity, "not his justice. He was now indeed sought for when "affairs were desperate, and when they had no other "hope of safety but from his arm; but, the service once "performed, its author would soon be forgotten, and the "former security would not fail to bring back the return "of former ingratitude. All his glory was at stake, if he "deceived the hopes which they had formed of him; his "happiness and his repose were not the less so, if he "succeeded in fulfilling them: soon the former jealousy "would be awakened against him, and the emperor, "yielding to intrigue, would make no difficulty of sacri-"ficing, a second time, a subject that he could do with-"out. It was better for him to relinquish at this moment "voluntarily a situation which, sooner or later, the cabals

" of his enemies would deprive him of. He expected " safety and contentment only in the bosom of private " life, and the mere desire of serving the emperor had " alone been able to draw him away for some time from " the charms of repose."

Fatigued by this long farce, the minister at length assumed a more serious tone, and threatened the stubborn subject with all the monarch's anger, if he still persisted in his resistance. "The majesty of the emperor," he declared to him, "had been sufficiently humiliated before " him, and so much condescension, instead of affecting " his generosity, had only flattered his pride and en- " couraged him in his obstinacy. Should this great sacri- " fice have been made in vain, he could not answer " but that the suppliant might change into the master, " and that the monarch might revenge his insulted dig- " nity upon his rebellious subject. Whatever fault Fer- " dinand had committed, the emperor could always exact " submission: men might err, but the sovereign never " acknowledged his error. If unjust judgments had " caused losses or wrongs to the Duke of Friedland, the " emperor could repair them in an instant. Did he de- " mand sureties for his dignities and his person, the jus- " tice of the emperor would not refuse any reasonable de- " mand; but the majesty of the sovereign, once despised, " never admitted of reparation, and the most brilliant " services disappeared in his eyes, when his commands " were disobeyed. The emperor had occasion for his " services, and, as emperor, he demanded them. What- " ever price he might set upon them, would be granted; " but he desired obedience, or all the weight of his " anger would crush the rebellious subject."

Wallenstein, whose vast possessions, situated in the

Austrian monarchy, were continually exposed to the emperor's authority, felt that this threatening shortly might not be in vain. But it was not fear which put an end to his affected obstinacy. This imperious tone towards him too clearly revealed the weakness and the despair; and the emperor's eagerness to subscribe to all his conditions gave him to understand that he had attained his object. He now owned himself subdued by Eggenberg's eloquence, and quitted him to write down his demands.

The minister did not behold without anxiety a writing in which the proudest of servants had the boldness to dictate the law to the proudest of princes. However little the confidence was which he placed in the modesty of his friend, the extravagance of this writing far surpassed all his fears in this respect. Wallenstein demanded the unlimited command of all the German armies in the pay of Austria and Spain, and the entire liberty of recompensing and punishing. He would neither permit the King of Hungary nor the emperor himself to appear in the army, and still less to exercise any act of authority in it. The emperor was not to give any commissions in the army, nor grant any recompense; the letters of grace even must not be held valid without the sanction of Wallenstein. The Duke of Friedland must dispose alone, and to the exclusion of the tribunals of the emperor and of the empire, of all that should be taken or confiscated in Germany. He exacted for his own recompense one of the emperor's hereditary states; and, as an extraordinary present, one of the conquered countries. Every Austrian province must be open to him as an asylum, whenever it should be necessary. He demanded besides an assurance of the dutchy of Mechlenburg upon the conclusion of the peace; and that, in case they should think

proper to withdraw the command from him a second time, it must be signified to him by a formal and timely notice.

The minister in vain made efforts to moderate the pretensions which deprived the emperor of all his rights of sovereignty over the troops, and humbled him so as to make him the mere creature of his general. He had shewn too much to Wallenstein the high importance of his services, to remain henceforth master of the price for which he should consent to render them. If the nature of circumstances obliged the emperor to accept of these propositions, it was not a mere movement of vengeance and of pride which engaged the duke to make them. The plan of the revolt was already formed, and, in order to insure its success, Wallenstein must secure all the advantages which his treaty with the court could give him. This plan exacted that all authority in Germany must be taken from the emperor, and pass into the hands of his general: now, this object was obtained whenever Ferdinand consented to the conditions which had been proposed to him.

The use that Wallenstein intended to make of his army—a use very distant from the design for which it had been confided to him—did not admit of any division of power in it; it admitted still less of a superior authority to that of Wallenstein. To be alone master of the will of the troops, he must also appear the sole master of their fate. To draw insensibly all authority to himself, and to confer the rights of sovereignty to his own person, he must carefully remove the emperor from the eyes of the troops: and from this came his obstinate refusal, that not any prince of the house of Austria should appear in the army. The liberty alone of disposing at his will of all the confiscated or conquered property in the empire, gave him the fearful power of creating to himself a crowd

of dependents, of making them the instruments of his will, and of acting the character of a dictator in Germany, with an extent of power which no emperor ever had had before, even in time of peace. By the right of retiring, in case of need, into the Austrian hereditary lands, he acquired the means of exhausting them, of holding the emperor as a prisoner in his own states, and of undermining the foundation of the Austrian monarchy. Whatever might be the event, he had equally provided for his interests by the conditions which he had imposed upon the emperor. If circumstances shewed themselves favourable to his projects, the treaty that he had concluded would only facilitate the execution of them: if, on the contrary, they were opposed to them, he found in this same treaty a complete indemnification. But how could he regard a treaty as valid which he extorted from the distress of his master, and which was grounded upon treason? Could he hope to bind the emperor by conditions which pronounced, in some measure, the condemnation of death to the subject who was bold enough to dictate them? Nevertheless, this criminal, worthy of punishment, was at this moment the most indispensable man for the salvation of the Austrian monarchy; and Ferdinand, accustomed to dissimulation, granted him all that he desired. At length the Imperial forces had a chief worthy of this name. As soon as Wallenstein had taken the command, every other power than his ceased in the army, even that of the emperor himself; every act, every order, which did not emanate from him, was considered of no effect. From the borders of the Danube to the banks of the Weser and the Oder, all felt the presence of the new genius that presided over the destinies of the Austrian monarchy. A new spirit animated the emperor's soldiers; a new epoch commenced in war. Fresh hopes were created in the

Papists, and the Protestants saw with uneasiness events take a new and unexpected direction. The greater the price was with which they had been obliged to purchase this new general, the greater were the hopes that the court of Vienna thought themselves justified in conceiving of him. But the Duke of Friedland did not hasten to fulfil them: near to the frontiers of Bohemia, at the head of a formidable army, he had but to shew himself to vanquish the Saxons, and begin his new career with splendour by the conquest of this kingdom. Instead of this, he contented himself in harassing the enemy by some indecisive battles with the Croats; he left the best parts of Bohemia a prey to the elector's troops, and then marched with a sure step towards the selfish end that he had proposed to himself: to unite himself with the Saxons, and not to conquer them, was Wallenstein's plan. Alone occupied with this important work, he now allowed his forces to repose, in order to negociate with the greater facility. He spared nothing to withdraw the elector of Saxony from the Swedish alliance; and Ferdinand himself, always disposed to make peace with this prince, approved of his general's proceedings. But the remembrance of the great obligations which they were under to the Swedes was still too fresh in the minds of the Saxons to permit them to be guilty of so shameful a perfidy. Besides, if they had really had the intention of committing it, the equivocal character of Wallenstein, and the bad reputation of the Austrian politics, were equally opposed thereto; they could place no confidence in the sincerity of the duke's promises. Too well known for a deceitful politician, he was not able to persuade, upon the only occasion perhaps when he spoke with sincerity, and circumstances did not yet permit him to place beyond doubt the sincerity of his intentions, by discovering his real motives.

Wallenstein resolved then, reluctantly, to obtain by force of arms what he could not obtain by negociation. He quickly assembled his army, and appeared before Prague, before the Saxons had time to come to the succour of this capital. After a short resistance on the part of the besieged, the treachery of the Capucins introduced one of his regiments into the place; the garrison fled to the citadel, and laid down their arms on dishonourable terms. Master of the capital, he recommenced his negociation with the Court of Saxony, in the hope that they would now receive a more favourable reception; but at the same time that he renewed it with General Arnheim, he neglected nothing to support it by a decisive blow. He caused to be occupied, with all expedition, the narrow passes between Aussig and Pirna, to cut off the retreat of the Saxon army from their own country; but Arnheim's activity fortunately saved him from this danger. After the retreat of this general, Egra and Leutmeritz, the last retreats of the Saxons in Bohemia, surrendered to the conqueror; and this kingdom was placed again under the dominion of its lawful sovereign more rapidly than it had been taken from him.

Less occupied in promoting the interests of his master than his own designs, Wallenstein now thought of removing the seat of war into Saxony, in order to force the elector, by the ravaging of his country, to conclude a treaty with the emperor, or rather with the Duke of Friedland; but, however little he was habituated to make his will submit to the force of circumstances, he now felt the necessity of sacrificing his favourite plan to a more pressing affair. While he was driving the Saxons from Bohemia, Gustavus Adolphus continued his triumphant march upon the Rhine and the Danube, and already menaced with his arms the Bavarian frontiers. Maximi-

lian, beaten upon the Lech, and deprived of his firmest support by the death of Count Tilly, eagerly entreated the emperor to send, without delay, the Duke of Friedland to his assistance, in order to protect Bavaria, and, by the defence of which, the danger that threatened Austria might be removed. He applied himself to Wallenstein, and begged of him, in the most pressing manner, to detach a few regiments to his assistance, till he could come in person with the main army. Ferdinand supported this demand with all his authority, and several messengers were sent to Wallenstein to prevail upon him to march towards the Danube. But it was now perceived how much the emperor had sacrificed his power in giving up his authority over his troops, and in yielding to his general the power of regulating the operations of war. Indifferent to Maximilian's entreaties, and deaf to the repeated orders of the emperor, Wallenstein remained inactive in Bohemia, and abandoned the elector to his fate. The recollection of the ill offices which Maximilian had formerly rendered him at the diet of Ratisbon had remained profoundly engraven in the implacable mind of the duke, and the elector's recent efforts to prevent his re-instatement had not been kept a secret from him. The moment for revenging this injury was now arrived, and the elector experienced in a terrible manner that he had made the most vindictive of men his enemy. "Bohemia, replied the duke, "must not remain unprotected, and "the best way of protecting Austria was to allow the "Swedish army to exhaust itself before the Bavarian "fortresses."

It is thus that Wallenstein chastised his enemy by the arm of Gustavus; and, while one place after another fell into the hands of this monarch, he left the elector to ex-

pect his arrival in vain at Ratisbon. It was not till after having entirely subjugated Bohemia, when absolutely no longer any excuse remained for him, and the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus in Bavaria threatened Austria herself with approaching danger, that he at length yielded to the intreaties of the Emperor and Maximilian, and now determined to make this junction so long desired with the Bavarians, and which, according to the general expectation of the Catholics, was to decide the fate of the whole campaign.

Gustavus Adolphus, too weak in troops to make head against Wallenstein's army alone, dreaded the union of two such powerful armies, and men were, with reason, astonished that he did not shew more activity in preventing it. He probably reckoned too much upon the hatred which divided the hostile chiefs, and which seemed to oppose itself to the union of their arms in one common cause; and it was too late to repair this fault, when the consequences had proved the falseness of his conjectures. Upon receiving the first certain intelligence of their designs, he hastened towards the Upper Palatinate to intercept the elector's progress; but in this he was already prevented; the union had taken place near Egra.

This last place had been designed by Wallenstein to serve for the theatre of the triumph which he was to gain over his proud rival. Not contented to see him as a suppliant, imploring at his feet the support of his arms, he imposed upon him the hard law of leaving his states unprotected, to seek for his protector at a considerable distance, and obliged him thus to make the shameful avowal of his distress, and of the indispensable want of his assistance. The proud prince resigned himself however to this humiliation. It had cost him a hard struggle, with-

out doubt, to owe his safety to a man who would never have had the power that he possessed at this moment, if his voice had been listened to; but, the resolution once taken, he was sufficiently master of himself to support all the mortification that was inseparable from this resolution, and at the same time to look with contempt upon trifling vexations, if, in the sequel, he attained an important point.

Although it had cost so much merely to bring about this re-union, yet it was still more difficult to regulate the conditions upon which they were to act. To accomplish the end proposed by this re-union, the command of the united forces must be placed in the hands of one person, and each of the parties here shewed an equal reluctance to submit to the authority of the other. If Maximilian valued himself upon his electoral dignity, upon the splendour of his birth and of his rank in the empire, Wallenstein founded his claims upon his military reputation, and upon the unlimited power which he had received from the emperor. If in Maximilian the proud sovereign revolted at the idea of obeying an officer of the emperor, the duke's pride was singularly flattered in dictating the law to so imperious a spirit as that of the elector. It therefore came to an obstinate contention, which at length terminated in a mutual agreement to the advantage of Wallenstein. The supreme and unlimited command of both armies was given up to him particularly upon the day of battle, and the elector renounced the power of changing the order of the combat, or even the march of the army; he only reserved the right of punishing and recompensing his own soldiers, and the free employment of his troops whenever they should act separately. After these preliminary dispositions were at last terminated,

they ventured to see each other; but not before they had sworn on both sides an entire forgetfulness of what had passed, and after having scrupulously observed all the exterior formalities of the act of reconciliation. According to the agreement, both parties embraced in the presence of their troops, and gave reciprocally the strongest assurances of friendship, while their hearts overflowed with hatred against one another. Maximilian indeed, versed in the art of dissimulation, preserved sufficient command over himself not to betray his true sentiments by any exterior sign; but the secret joy of Wallenstein's triumph was seen to sparkle in his eyes, and the constraint which was visible in all his motions discovered the violence of the passion which mastered his proud heart.

The combined Imperial-Bavarian army now amounted to about sixty thousand men, the most part old veterans; and the Swedish monarch did not dare to appear in the field against them. Not having been able to prevent their union, he retired precipitately towards Franconia, and waited for a decisive movement on the part of Wallenstein to form his own determination. The position of the combined armies upon the Saxon and Bavarian frontiers left him for some time in uncertainty; he did not know whether they would direct themselves towards Saxony, or endeavour to drive the Swedes from the Danube, and deliver Bavaria. Arnheim had left Saxony undefended to make conquests in Silesia, or rather, as many have accused him, with the secret view of opening the electorate to the Duke of Friedland, and of drawing more easily by this the irresolute spirit of his master, John George, to an agreement with the emperor. Gustavus Adolphus, in the certain expectation that Wallenstein's designs were directed against Saxony, immediately sent considerable

succours to the elector, his ally, firmly resolved, whenever circumstances would permit, to follow them with all his forces. But the movements of the Duke of Friedland soon discovered that he was threatened himself, and the march of the Duke through the Upper Palatinate placed this beyond a doubt.

Gustavus must now think of his own security; he must combat less for supremacy than to maintain his existence in Germany, and he must borrow all his resources from the fertility of his genius. He was surprised by the enemy before he had time to re-assemble his forces scattered through Germany, and to demand succours from the allied princes. Far too weak to oppose the powerful army which advanced, he had only the choice of throwing himself into Nuremberg, of running the risk of seeing himself shut up in that city by Wallenstein's numerous army, and of dying by famine there; or of abandoning this town to the vengeance of a furious enemy, and of waiting for re-enforcements under the cannon of Donauwerth. Consulting only honour and humanity, despising all the dangers which he might be exposed to, Gustavus chose without hesitation the first part, firmly resolved rather to bury himself and his whole army under the ruins of Nuremberg than consult his safety by the sacrifice of that allied city. Preparations were immediately made to surround the city and its suburbs with fortifications, and to establish an entrenched camp in the interior. Several thousand men were immediately employed in this immense work, and all the inhabitants of Nuremberg, animated by a heroic zeal, shewed themselves ready to expose for the common cause their blood, their lives, and their properties. A ditch, eight feet in depth and twelve in breadth, surrounded the whole of the fortifications; the lines were

defended by redoubts and bastions, and the gates protected by half-moons. The Pegnitz, which runs through Nuremberg, divided the camp into two main bodies, which, by means of several bridges, kept up a communication with each other. About three hundred pieces of cannon defended the ramparts of the town and the entrenchments. The peasants from the neighbouring villages and the inhabitants of Nuremberg, in concert with the Swedish soldiers, applied themselves to the works with so much zeal, that the army on the seventh day could occupy the camp, and in a fortnight the whole of this immense work was completed.

While these transactions took place without the walls, the magistrates of Nuremberg were occupied in filling the magazines with all the necessaries of war and provisions for a long siege. They also provided, by the most severe measures of police, for the health of the inhabitants, which so great a superfluity of men might easily endanger. In order to assist the king in case of necessity, the young citizens were embodied and exercised, the militia considerably augmented, and a new regiment raised, consisting of twenty-four names, according to the letters of the old alphabet. Gustavus Adolphus had, mean while, demanded succours of his allies, Duke William of Weimar, and the Landgrave of Hesse; he gave orders to all his generals upon the Rhine, in Thuringia, and Lower Saxony, to come and join him as soon as possible at Nuremberg with their troops. His army, which was encamped within the lines of the city, did not amount to more than sixteen thousand men, a number not equal to one third of the enemy.

In the mean while, the Duke of Friedland had advanced by slow marches as far as Neumark, where he made a

general review of his troops. At the sight of this formidable army, he could not restrain himself from a childish boasting. "Within four days," cried he, "it will be "proved which of us two, the King of Sweden or I, shall "be master of the world!" He, however, did nothing to fulfil this pompous promise, notwithstanding his great superiority; and even neglected the opportunity of entirely defeating his enemy, when he was bold enough to appear beyond his lines against him. "There have been battles "enough," replied he to those who urged him to the attack; "it is time to change the system." Here it was discovered how much more was gained in being commanded by a general whose military reputation was established, and who had no occasion to make a name by undertaking, like many others, hazardous enterprises. Wallenstein, convinced that the enemy, driven to despair, would make him pay dearly for a victory, while a defeat which he might experience would for ever ruin the emperor's affairs, contented himself with exhausting by a long siege the warlike ardour of his rival; and, in taking from him every opportunity of displaying that impetuous bravery which had hitherto rendered him invincible, he deprived him of his greatest advantage. Without, therefore, undertaking any thing whatever, he contented himself in occupying a strongly-entrenched camp on the side of the Rednitz, opposite Nuremberg; and by the choice of this excellent position he intercepted all the convoys from Franconia, Suabia, and Thuringia, which might penetrate into the town as well as into the camp: by this he held the king, and at the same time the town, besieged, and flattered himself to conquer slowly, but more surely, by famine and disease the courage of an enemy against whom he did not dare to risk an

open battle. But, too little acquainted with the resources and strength of his adversary, he had not sufficiently guarded against the fate which he had prepared for others. The population of the surrounding villages had fled, carrying with them their property, and whatever provisions remained Wallenstein's foragers must obstinately dispute with the Swedes. The king spared the magazines in the town as long as it was possible to obtain provisions in the neighbourhood. These excursions, which took place on both sides, kept up between the Croats and the Swedes a continual warfare, of which the surrounding country bore the most frightful traces. The necessaries of life must be obtained sword in hand, and the foraging parties did not dare to venture out without being strongly supported. As soon as famine began to be felt, the town of Nuremberg, it is true, opened its magazines to the king, while Wallenstein must obtain provisions for his troops from a greater distance. A considerable convoy of provisions purchased in Bavaria was on its way to him from thence, and a thousand men were sent to escort and bring it in safety to his camp. Gustavus Adolphus, who was informed of its approach, immediately sent a regiment of cavalry, with orders to obtain possession of it. The obscurity of the night favoured the undertaking; the entire convoy fell, with the town which it had reached, into the hands of the Swedes, and the Imperial escort was cut to pieces. About twelve hundred oxen were taken, and a thousand carriages, laden with bread, which could not be brought away, were set on fire. The Duke of Friedland had caused seven regiments to advance towards Altdorf to favour the arrival of this convoy, expected with so much impatience; but the king, who on his side had sent considerable for-

ces to protect the retreat of his own troops, dispersed the Imperialists after an obstinate action, killed four hundred of their men, and pursued the remainder to their camp. So many disappointments, and such an unexpected firmness on the part of the king, caused the Duke of Friedland to repent of having allowed to escape unprofitably the opportunity of giving battle. The strength of the Swedish camp now rendered an attack impracticable, and Nuremberg's armed youth served the king as an excellent nursery, from which he could in an instant supply his loss of men. Famine, which was not the less felt in the Imperial camp than in the Swedish, made it at the least very uncertain which party should be compelled first to retreat. Both armies, equally covered by inaccessible entrenchments, had already passed a fortnight in the presence of each other without daring to undertake any thing than small attacks and inconsiderable skirmishes. Contagious maladies, the natural consequence of bad nourishment and want of room for such a number of people, had carried off on both sides more than the sword had destroyed, and this calamity increased daily. At length the long expected succours arrived in the Swedish camp, and, supported by these numerous re-enforcements, the king could now obey the dictates of his natural courage, and break the fetters which had hitherto restrained him. The Duke William, of Weimar, had, according to the king's instructions, assembled with all possible haste the garrisons scattered about in Lower Saxony and Thuringia, and formed a corps of them, which was joined near to Schweinfurt by four Saxon regiments, and soon after at Kitzingen by the troops of the Rhine, which the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Count Palatinate of Birkenfeld, sent to the king's succour. The chancellor Oxenstiern under-

took to conduct this united army to the place of its destination. After he had made a junction at Windsheim with Duke Bernard, of Weimar, and the Swedish general, Banner, he advanced by forced marches to Pruck and Eltersdorf, where he passed the Rednitz, and happily arrived in the Swedish camp. These succours amounted to about fifty thousand men, and were accompanied by sixty pieces of cannon, and four thousand baggage waggons. Gustavus Adolphus now saw himself at the head of about seventy thousand fighting men, without reckoning the militia of Nuremberg, which, in case of necessity, could form a corps of thirty thousand armed citizens ready for the field: a formidable force, which was opposed by one no less formidable. The whole war now appeared to depend upon a single battle, which must be decided here at last. With anxiety divided Europe beheld this scene of action, where the strength of both contending parties was fearfully assembled in one focus. But, if they had already to struggle with famine before the arrival of succours, what frightful ravages must this calamity now make when Wallenstein himself had likewise drawn new re-enforcements from Bavaria! Besides the hundred and twenty thousand combatants which were confronted to each other, and a number of more than fifty thousand horses in both armies, besides the inhabitants of Nuremberg who far exceeded the Swedish army, they reckoned alone in Wallenstein's camp fifteen thousand women, and as many drivers and servants; and the Swedish camp had nearly as many! The custom of the times permitted the soldier to lead his family into the field. A great number of single women voluntarily attached themselves to the suite of the Imperial army; with the Swedes, on the contrary, the most strict vigilance over the morals

prevented all kinds of disorder, and, in consequence, rendered marriage necessary. Military schools were established for the young generation, whose native country was the camp from whence proceeded an excellent race of warriors, with which the army could recruit itself in a long war.

It is not surprising if these ambulatory nations exhausted every country through which they passed, and if the presence of so many useless persons, in the train of the armies, caused all at once the necessaries of life to rise to an enormous price. All the mills which surrounded Nuremberg were not sufficient to grind the corn necessary for the consumption of each day, and fifty thousand pounds of bread, that the town gave outevery day to the camp, only served to excite the soldiers hunger, without satisfying it. The truly laudable care of the magistrates of Nuremberg could not prevent the greater part of the horses from perishing for want of forage; and the increasing rage of epidemick diseases daily sent more than a hundred men to the grave. To put an end to this calamity, Gustavus Adolphus, full of confidence in his superior force, left his lines on the fifty-fifth day, and presented himself in order of battle before the enemy, and cannonaded Wallenstein's camp from three batteries which he had raised upon the banks of the Rednitz. But Wallenstein remained immoveable in his intrenchments, and contented himself with answering this challenge by a distant fire of cannon and musketry.

To weary the king by a defensive plan, and to conquer his perseverance by famine, such was the unshaken resolution of Wallenstein; and no representations of Maximilian, no impatience of the army, nor the reproaches of the

enemy, could alter this determination. Deceived in his hopes, and pressed by increasing necessity, Gustavus Adolphus now ventured upon an impossibility, and determined to storm a camp which both nature and art equally rendered impregnable. After he had given up his own camp to the protection of the Nuremberg militia, he advanced in full order of battle, on St. Bartholemew's day, the fifty-eighth day since the army had occupied its intrenchments, and passed the Rednitz near to Furt, where he repulsed without trouble the advanced posts of the enemy. Upon the steep heights, situated between the Biber and the Rednitz, and called the *Alte-Veste and Altenberg*, the enemy's main army was stationed; and the camp itself, commanded by these heights, was spread to an immense extent along the plain. All the artillery was placed upon these heights: formidable redoubts, inaccessible in themselves, were, besides, surrounded by deep ditches; thick abatis and pointed palisades defended the approach to the steep mountain, from the summit of which Wallenstein, calm and secure as if more than mortal, darted the thunder of his artillery amid thick clouds of smoke; an effectual fire was sustained from behind the breastworks, and a hundred pieces of cannon threatened the bold assailant with certain death. Upon this most dangerous position Gustavus Adolphus dared the attack, and five hundred musketeers, supported by a few infantry, (the confined space would not permit a greater number to advance) had the unenvied privilege of being the first to face certain destruction. The assault was furious, the resistance terrible; exposed to the whole fire of the enemy's artillery, and undismayed by the aspect of inevitable death, these intrepid warriors stormed the heights, which in a moment were converted to a second Hecla, and

discharged among them a shower of shot. At the same time the heavy Imperial cavalry penetrated through the chasms which the enemy's artillery made among the assailants, whose close ranks are broken, and this band of heroes, at the same time vanquished by men and by nature, take flight, after leaving a hundred men dead upon the spot. They were Germans that Gustavus had selected for the perilous honour of the first attack:—provoked at their retreat, he led his Finlanders to the assault, in order to make the Germans blush for their cowardice, in opposing to these the bravery of the northern soldiers; but they also, having received a similar reception, yielded to superior strength, and a new regiment relieved them with as little success; this was relieved by a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth, so that during the ten hours the combat continued, every regiment attacked, and all, successively bleeding and overpowered, abandoned the field of battle. A thousand dead bodies covered the field;—nevertheless Gustavus Adolphus still continued the attack, and Wallenstein intrepidly maintained his position. Meanwhile, a smart combat took place between the Imperial cavalry and the left wing of the Swedes, posted in a small wood upon the Rednitz, where, notwithstanding prodigies of valour on both sides, and much blood shed, the success remained uncertain. The Duke of Friedland and Prince Bernard, of Weimar, had their horses killed under them; the king himself had the sole of one of his boots carried away by a cannon ball. The attack and resistance were renewed with equal fury, until at length the approach of night warned them that it was time to put an end to this obstinate contest. The Swedes, however, were now too far advanced to undertake their retreat without danger. While the king was seeking for an offi-

cer to carry to the regiments the order so to do, he saw appear before him Colonel Hebron, a brave Scotchman, whose native courage had induced him to leave the camp to partake of the dangers of this day. Angry with the king, who had recently preferred a younger colonel to himself for a most perilous enterprise, he had made the rash vow, in his passion, never again to draw his sword for the king. Gustavus Adolphus now addressed himself to him, and, after having praised his noble courage, he requested him to command the regiments to retreat. "Sire," replied the intrepid soldier, "that is "the only service I cannot refuse to your majesty, since it is accompanied with danger;" and he immediately hastened to obey his orders. It is true, Duke Bernard, of Weimar, had possessed himself, in the heat of the fight, of a height upon the *Alte-Veste*, from which he could command the mountain, and even the enemy's camp; but the rain, which had fallen in torrents during the whole night, had made the ground so slippery, that it was impossible to transport the artillery there, and he was constrained to abandon a post purchased by streams of blood. Mistrustful of fortune, which had forsook him on this decisive day, the king did not dare to venture upon the following morning to renew the attack with troops exhausted by fatigue; and, for the first time, vanquished because he was not victor, he withdrew his army across the Rednitz. Two thousand dead, whom he left on the field of battle, attested his loss, and the Duke of Friedland remained in his camp unconquered. Both armies, after this action, yet remained a fortnight in presence of each other, each expecting first to force the other to retreat. According as provisions were daily consumed, hunger was felt, and the soldier rendered furious, the

inhabitants of the country around became sacrifices to his barbarous rapacity. The increasing misery soon broke through all ties of discipline in the Swedish camp; the German regiments, above all, distinguished themselves by violences of all kinds, which they exercised indiscriminately against friends and enemies.

The feeble hand of one appeared now insufficient to prevent the disorders which the silence of the subordinate officers seemed to authorize, and which they even sometimes encouraged by their own pernicious examples. The monarch was deeply affected with this shameful breach of discipline, upon which, till now, he had been so proud; and the energy with which he reproached the German officers for their negligence shewed the violence of his grief. "Germans," cried he, "it is you your-"selves who ravage your native country; it is against "your own brothers that you exercise your barbarities. "God is my witness, I detest you; I am disgusted "and my heart trembles when I look upon you;—you "have violated all my orders, you have drawn upon "me universal maledictions. The tears of guiltless poverty "pursue me, and it is you who cause them to flow;—it "is you who provoke this cry which destroys me—the king "our friend does us more harm than our most cruel ene-"my! I have, on your account, deprived my crown of "all its treasures, and have expended more than forty "tons of gold; and I have not received from the German "empire even as much as would badly clothe me: I have "divided with you all that it has pleased Providence to "grant me until this day, and I would have divided all "that which it should still have been pleased to grant me, "if you had respected my laws; but your bad discipline "persuades me that you nourish in your minds the most

"guilty designs, however much I may otherwise have "cause to praise your courage."

Nuremberg had made the greatest efforts to feed, during eleven weeks, the enormous crowd heaped upon its territory; but at length its resources failed, and the king was obliged to resolve upon being the first to break up his camp. Nuremberg had buried more than ten thousand of its inhabitants; Gustavus Adolphus had lost more than twenty thousand soldiers by the war and diseases; all the surrounding countries were desolated, the villages reduced to ashes; the unfortunate people, without bread, without asylum, despoiled by barbarous hands, were dying for want on the roads; the air was infected by pestilential vapours; destructive maladies, arising from bad nourishment, through the exhalations which arose from so numerous an encampment, and so many dead bodies in corruption; augmented by the heat of the dog-days, the most terrible ravages were extended upon both men and animals, and for a long time, even after the retreat of the armies, famine and misery still afflicted these unfortunate countries. Affected by the universal sorrow, and without any hope of conquering the perseverance of the Duke of Friedland, the king broke up his camp on the 8th of September, and abandoned Nuremberg, after having provided it with a sufficient garrison. He passed in full order of battle before the front of the enemy, who remained immoveable, and did not undertake any thing to interrupt his retreat. He directed his march towards Neustadt, upon the Aisch, and afterwards to Windsheim, where he remained five days, to refresh his army and keep up a communication with Neuremberg, in case the enemy should undertake any thing against this town. But Wallenstein, who had not less occasion for refreshing his

army, waited only for the retreat of the Swedes to commence his own. In five days after their departure, he quitted his camp at Zirndorf and set it in flames. A hundred columns of smoke, which rose to the skies from as many villages, announced his departure, and shewed Nuremberg the dreadful fate it had escaped. His march, which was directed towards Forcheim, was marked with the most horrible ravages; but he was already too far advanced for the king to be able to overtake him.

Gustavus Adolphus now divided his army, which could no longer support itself in an exhausted country. One part was destined to the defence of Franconia; the king at the head of the other continued his conquests in Bavaria. In the mean while the Imperial-Bavarian troops had entered into the bishopric of Bamberg, where the Duke of Friedland ordered a second review: he found this army, whose former strength amounted to sixty thousand men, reduced at this time, by desertion, war, and disease, to twenty-four thousand combatants, of whom a fourth part were Bavarians. Thus the encampment before Nuremberg had exhausted both parties more than the loss of two grand battles, without having at all approached the end of the war, without having answered, by the least important event, the expectation of Europe, whose regards were turned incessantly towards the theatre of war. This diversion, it is true, placed for a long time a term to the conquests of the King of Sweden, and secured even Austria against an invasion; but the retreat from Nuremberg gave the Swedes full freedom again to make Bavaria once more the theatre of war.

Indifferent towards the fate of this country, and weary of the constraint which his re-union with the elector imposed upon him, the Duke of Friedland eagerly seized

the occasion which offered itself to disembarrass himself of this troublesome colleague to follow his favourite projects with renewed energy. Still faithful to his first plan of detaching Saxony from Sweden, he fixed upon this electorate for his troops' winter quarters, in the hope of forcing by his destructive presence the elector to conclude a separate peace. No conjuncture could be more favourable for the execution of this project. The Saxons, re-united to the Swedish troops and to the troops of Brandenburg, had entered into Silesia, where they had obtained several advantages over the emperor's troops. A diversion, which had for its object the recalling the elector to the defence of his own states, saved Silesia; and this enterprise was so much the more easy to execute, as the Saxon army, occupied at this moment in the war in Silesia, left Saxony absolutely open and without defence. The necessity of going to the succour of the Austrian hereditary states silenced all the objections of the Elector of Bavaria, and, under the mask of patriotism and of an ardent zeal for the emperor's service, he could sacrifice without scruple this detested rival. In abandoning to the King of Sweden the rich countries of Bavaria, he hoped to be able to undertake his expedition against Saxony without opposition from Gustavus; besides, the still-increasing coolness between this monarch and the Saxon court did not permit him to suppose that the king would be over eager to come to the assistance of his ally. The Elector of Bavaria, abandoned again by his crafty protector, then separated from Wallenstein at Bamberg to protect with the small remains of his troops his helpless country, and the Imperial army, under the orders of the Duke of Friedland, directed its march through Baireuth and Cobourg towards the forest of Thuringia. An Imperial general,

Holk, had already received orders to march into Vogtland, to destroy this defenceless province with fire and sword. General Gallas, another easy and ready instrument of the duke's barbarous orders, was likewise soon after sent. Finally Count Pappenheim was called from Lower Saxony to re-inforce Wallenstein's weakened army, and to perfect the work of destruction in Saxony. The ruin of churches, burnt villages, harvests destroyed, pillage, and murder, signalized the march of this ferocious band. All Thuringia, Vogtland, and Misnia, fell under this triple scourge; but these were only the prelude to still greater miseries, which the duke himself, at the head of the main army, reserved for unhappy Saxony. After having marked his route through Franconia and Thuringia by the most horrible devastations, he presented himself with all his forces before Leipzig, and after a short siege compelled it to surrender. His project was to penetrate as far as Dresden, to subject all the country, and at length to dictate the law to the elector. He had already approached the Mulda, and would have attacked with his superior force the Saxon army, which was advanced against him as far as Torgau; but the arrival of the King of Sweden at Erfurt put an end unexpectedly to his plans of conquest. Pressed between the Saxon troops and the Swedish army, to which Duke George of Lunenburg, then in Saxony, threatened to join himself, he retired in all haste towards Merseburg, to unite himself there with the Count of Pappenheim, and to drive back the Swedes, who continued to approach.

Gustavus Adolphus had not beheld without great uneasiness all the artifices made use of by Spain and Austria to detach his allies from him. The more important his alliance with Saxony was, the more cause he had to dread

the inconstancy of John George. There never had existed any sincere friendship between him and the elector. A prince proud of his political importance, habituated to consider himself as the head of his party, must necessarily regard as dangerous and oppressive the intervention of a foreign power in the affairs of Germany, and the desperate situation of his states had only been able to conquer for a long time the natural repugnance which he felt at seeing the progress of this unwelcome foreigner. The increasing renown of the king in Germany, his preponderating influence among the Protestant states, the not very doubtful proofs of his ambitious designs, and which were sufficient to excite all the attention of the states of the empire, awakened in the mind of the elector a thousand fears, which the agents of the court of Vienna had the address to nourish and even to augment. Every arbitrary act of the king's, every demand, however equitable, which he addressed to the princes of the empire, occasioned bitter complaints on the part of the elector, which appeared to foretell an approaching rupture. Even among the generals of both parties appeared, whenever they were to act in union, many marks of the violent jealousy which divided their masters. John George's natural aversion to the war, the secret attachment which he always bore to Austria, singularly favoured the efforts of Arnheim, who, in correspondence with Wallenstein, worked without ceasing for the particular reconciliation of his master with the emperor; and, although his advice appeared to be neglected for a long time, the sequel proved that it had not been entirely without effect.

Gustavus Adolphus, apprehensive with reason for the consequence which the defection of so important an ally must have upon his future existence in Germany, neglect-

ed no means whatever to prevent this prejudicial step, and the representations which he had already addressed to the elector had not been entirely without effect: but the immense forces with which the emperor supported his seducing propositions, the evils without number with which he threatened Saxony if she persisted any longer in her refusal, might at length conquer the elector's perseverance, if he saw himself thus abandoned without succour; and the indifference which was shewn to so important an ally might for ever destroy the confidence of the allies of Sweden in their protector. All these considerations then determined the king to yield for the second time to the pressing solicitations which the elector addressed to him, ready to fall; and he sacrificed all his brilliant hopes to occupy himself only with the deliverance of his ally. He had already resolved on making a second attack upon Ingolstadt, and the weakness of the Elector of Bavaria justified the hope which he had conceived of constraining this exhausted enemy to a neutrality. An insurrection of the peasantry in Upper Austria opened the road to him to this province; the Imperial capital might easily fall into his hands before Wallenstein had time to hasten to its assistance. He renounced this brilliant prospect to go to the succour of an ally whose little merit and bad disposition were unworthy of such a sacrifice; of an ally who, upon all occasions when the public good alone should have been attended to, listened only to the despicable idea of his selfish interest; who was less important for the services which he could render than for the mischief which he could occasion. Who can refrain from indignation when it is known that Gustavus Adolphus's march to assist this prince for ever put a period to the glorious exploits of that great king? He quick-

ly assembled all his forces in the circle of Franconia, and pursued Wallenstein through Thuringia. Bernard, Duke of Weimar, who had been sent before against Pappenheim, joined the king near Armstadt, and Gustavus Adolphus then found himself at the head of twenty thousand veteran troops. At Erfurt he took leave of his consort, who was never again to behold him till in his coffin at Weissenfels. Their anxious and sorrowful adieu seemed to forebode an everlasting separation. He arrived at Naumburg on Nov. 1, 1632, before a corps detached by the Duke of Friedland had been able to get possession of the place. Crowds of people were seen running from all the neighbouring places to admire the hero, the avenger, the great king, who a year before had appeared as a tutelary angel in this country. Cries of joy resounded wherever he appeared; the people fell upon their knees to pay homage to him, and even disputed for the favour of touching the scabbard of his sword and the hem of his garment. The modest hero felt himself moved by this innocent homage of sincere gratitude and general admiration. "Does it not seem as if this people would deify me?" said he to those who accompanied him: "Our affairs go "on well, without doubt; but I much fear that divine ven- "geance will punish me for this rash mockery, and soon "convince the foolish multitude of my weak mortality." How amiable does Gustavus appear before he takes his leave of us for ever! Arrived at the height of honour, of fortune, and of glory, still his thoughts are turned with all humility towards death; he disdains a homage due to the divinity alone, and without doubt acquires new rights to our tears as the fatal instant approaches which must cause them to flow.

In the mean time the Duke of Friedland had advanced

to meet the king as far as Weissenfels, resolved to maintain his winter quarters in Saxony even at the expense of a battle. His inactivity before Nuremberg had exposed him to the suspicion of not daring to cope with the northern hero, and his reputation ran the greatest risk if he allowed to escape for a second time the opportunity of fighting him. His superiority in men, although much less than that which he had at the commencement of the siege of Nuremberg, seemed however to assure him a victory, if he succeeded in compelling the king to a battle previous to the latter's junction with the Saxons. But his present confidence was not so much founded upon the great superiority of his troops as upon the predictions of his astrologer, Seni, who had read in the stars that the fortune of the Swedish king would desert him in the month of November. Besides, there were between Hamburg and Weissenfels narrow defiles formed by a chain of mountains, and the river Saale, which rendered it extremely difficult for the Swedish army to advance, and they could be easily defended by a small number of troops. There then remained no other choice to the king but at the utmost peril to penetrate these defiles, or effect a difficult retreat through Thuringia, in a desolated country, where he of necessity must lose the greatest part of his troops. The celerity with which Gustavus Adolphus obtained possession of Naumburg annihilated this plan, and Wallenstein himself must now expect to be attacked. But he saw himself disappointed in this expectation, as the king, instead of marching to meet him at Weissenfels, entrenched himself near to Naumburg, where he resolved to wait for the re-enforcements which the Duke of Lunenburg was upon the point of leading to him. Wallenstein, uncertain whether he should march

against the king through the narrow passes between Weissenfels and Naumburg or remain inactive in his camp, assembled a council of war, to take the opinion of his most experienced generals. Not any of them advised the attacking of the king in his strong position, and the measures which he took plainly announced that it was not his intention to leave it so soon. On the other side, the approach of winter did not permit him to continue his military operations, and to fatigue by continual encampments an army which stood in such great need of repose. All voices declared for terminating the campaign, and with so much the more reason, as the important town of Cologne upon the Rhine was threatened with danger by the Dutch troops, and as the progress of the enemy in Westphalia and the Lower Rhine demanded without delay the most powerful succours on this side. The Duke of Friedland acknowledged the solidity of these reasons, and, almost convinced that he had nothing to fear from an attack by the king at this rigorous season of the year, consented to put his troops into winter quarters, yet in such a manner that they could be re-assembled on the shortest notice if, contrary to all expectation, the king was inclined to make any attempt. Count Pappenheim was sent, with a great part of the army, to the assistance of the town of Cologne, with orders to obtain possession upon his march of the fortress of Moritzburg, near Halle. Some detached corps took up their quarters in the environs, in the towns most favourably situated for observing on all sides the movements of the enemy. Count Colloredo guarded the castle at Weissenfels, and Wallenstein himself remained with the rest of his troops near Merseburg, between the canal and the Saale, from whence

it was his intention to march upon Leipzig to cut off the Saxons from the Swedes.

Hardly, however, had Gustavus Adolphus received information of Pappenheim's departure, when he suddenly broke up his camp near Naumburg, and hastened with all his forces to attack an enemy whose strength was reduced by one half. He advanced by forced marches towards Weissenfels, from whence the report of his arrival soon reached the enemy, and threw Wallenstein into the greatest astonishment. But a sudden resolution must now be made, and the Duke of Friedland was not long in taking his measures. Although he had no more than twelve thousand men to oppose to an army twenty thousand strong, he might, however, hope to be able to maintain himself until Pappenheim's return, who could not be farther off than five miles at the most, supposing him even to have arrived at Halle. He quickly despatched messengers to recal him immediately, whilst he advanced at the same time into the extensive plain which extends itself between the canal and Lutzen, where he awaited the king in full order of battle; and, by this disposition, cut him off from Leipzig and the Saxon army. Three cannon shots, which Count Colloredo fired from the castle of Weissenfels, announced the king's approach; and, at this signal agreed upon, all the advanced posts of the Duke of Friedland, commanded by the Croatian General Isolani, advanced to possess themselves of the villages situated upon the Rippach. Their feeble resistance could not stop the enemy, who passed the Rippach near to a village of this name, and took up a position above Lutzen, in face of the Imperial army. The high road, which leads from Weissenfels to Leipzig, is intersected between Lutzen and Markranstadt by the canal, which extends itself

from Zeitz to Merseburg, and joins the Elster with the Saale.

Upon this canal were placed the left wing of the Imperialists, and the right wing of the King of Sweden, but in such a manner, that the cavalry of both armies extended themselves upon its other side. Wallenstein's right wing had encamped northwards behind Lutzen, and to the southward of this town the left wing of the Swedes. Both armies extended their fronts along the high road which intersected them, and divided their order of battle. But, on the evening before the battle, Wallenstein had obtained possession of this road, to the great disadvantage of his adversary, and deepened the ditches on both sides, defending them with musketeers, so that they could not be passed without difficulty and danger. Behind them a battery was formed of seven large cannon, to support the fire of the musketry from the ditches; and, towards the windmills, a little behind Lutzen, fourteen smaller field pieces were placed upon an eminence which could sweep a great part of the plain. The infantry, divided into five large and unwieldy brigades, was formed in order of battle at the distance of three hundred paces in the rear of the high road, and the cavalry covered the flanks. All the baggage was sent to Leipzig, not to embarass the movements of the army, and the ammunition wagons alone remained behind the line.

In order to conceal the weakness of the Imperial army, all the boys attending the baggage and servants were mounted, and joined to the left wing, but this only until the arrival of Pappenheim's troops. The darkness of the night favoured these preparations, and before the dawn of day all was prepared for the reception of the enemy.

On the same evening Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the opposite plain, and formed his army in order of battle. He made the same disposition which a year before had gained him the victory at Leipzig. Small squadrons were mixed at intervals with the infantry, and the cavalry had likewise different bodies of musketeers divided among them. The whole of the army was formed upon two lines, having the canal on the right and in the rear, the high road in front, and the town of Lutzen on the left; the infantry, under the orders of Count Brahe, was placed in the centre, the cavalry on both wings, and the artillery in the front. To a German hero Bernhard, Duke of Weimar, was entrusted the command of the German cavalry of the left wing: the king, in person, was at the head of his Swedes on the right wing, to excite a noble and salutary emulation between both nations. The second line was formed in a similar manner, and behind it a corps of reserve was stationed, under the command of Henderson, a Scotchman.

Thus prepared, they only awaited the fatal morning to begin a combat which owed all the interest, all the fear, it inspired more to the long delay that it had experienced, than to the probable importance of the results which might arise from it.

The expectations of Europe, which were disappointed in the camp before Nuremberg, were now to be satisfied on the plains of Lutzen. Never, in the whole course of this war had two such generals, equal in consideration, rivals in glory, and both endowed with rare military talents, opposed each other in a decisive battle,—boldness had never been put to the test by a higher contest; never had hope been animated by a more important reward. The following morning must shew to Europe the

first of its warriors, and proclaim him the conqueror of one who, till this time, had never been vanquished by any; it was to decide, if it was the genius of Gustavus Adolphus which had conquered at the combat of Lech and at the battle of Leipzig, or if the want of skill only of his adversary had been the cause of this success. It was on this day that the merit of the Duke of Friedland was to justify the emperor's choice, and the magnitude of his services was to recompense the high price at which they had been purchased. Each soldier, jealous of the reputation of his chief, seemed to partake of it, and under every cuirass were excited those passions which enflamed their generals. The victory was doubtful; but the efforts, the blood which it must cost the conqueror as well as the conquered, were not so. Each well knew the enemy with whom he had to contend; and the anxiety on both sides, which they vainly endeavoured to suppress, was the most glorious evidence of the military talents of both. At length the dreadful morning appeared; but an impenetrable fog, which spread over all the plain, still delayed the attack until noon. The king threw himself upon his knees in the front of his army, the whole of which immediately followed his example, and at the same time began to sing a melodious hymn, accompanied by the military music. Gustavus Adolphus then mounted his horse, and, only clad in a leathern doublet and cloth coat (the pain which he suffered from a wound which he had formerly received did not permit him to wear a coat of mail), rode through the ranks to inflame the courage of his troops with a confidence which his own breast, full of anxious presentiments, denied to him. *God with us*, was the rallying cry on the part of the Swedes; *Jesus*, *Maria*, on that of the Im-

perialists. Towards eleven o'clock the fog began to disperse, and the enemy became visible to each other. At the same time the flames of Lutzen were seen, which the Duke of Friedland had caused to be set on fire, in order that he might not be out-flanked upon that side. The signal of attack was now sounded; the Swedish cavalry charged the enemy, and the infantry marched towards the trenches. Received by a tremendous fire of musketry and heavy artillery, the intrepid Swedish battalions pursue their attack with undaunted courage. The enemy's musketeers abandon their position, the trenches are cleared, the battery even is obtained possession of, and immediately directed against the Imperialists. The Swedes penetrate with an irresistable impetuosity; the first of the five Friedlander brigades is overthrown, soon after the second, and already the third begins to give way; but the duke's presence of mind soon stops the enemy's progress: with the quickness of lightning he repairs every where the disorder of his infantry; with a word he stops the fugitives. Supported by three regiments of cavalry, his brigades, already beaten, form a new front to the enemy, and penetrate furiously into their ranks. Then a most murderous combat begins; the closeness of the enemy no longer permits the use of fire arms, the fury of the attack gives no time to load; they combat man to man, and small arms becoming useless, betake themselves to the pike and sword, and art gives way to rage. At last the Swedes, fatigued, subdued by numbers, withdraw on the other side of the trenches, and the battery which they had gained is abandoned in their retreat. A thousand mutilated bodies already cover the plain, and yet not a foot of ground is gained! In the mean time, the king's right wing, led on by himself, has attacked the enemy's

left. The first shock of the heavy Cuirassiers of Finland has already dispersed all the lightly mounted Polanders and Croats which covered this wing, and the disorder of their flight spread in an instant terror and confusion among the rest of the cavalry. At this instant the king learns that his infantry have retired on the other side of the trenches, and also that his left wing, suffering greatly by the artillery from the windmills, was about to yield. With the greatest presence of mind he immediately ordered General Horn to pursue the enemy's left wing, which he had just defeated, while he himself hastened, at the head of the regiment of Steinbock, to repair the disorder of his own. His noble charger carries him like an arrow over the trenches, but the passage is more difficult for the squadrons which follow him, and only a few horsemen, among whom was Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, were able to keep up to the king. He galloped straight to the place where his infantry appears to be assailed with the greatest fury, and, while he looked around him, to discover in the enemy's army a proper place towards which he could direct his attack, his nearness of sight led him too close to it. An Imperial corporal, remarking that all gave way with respect to let him pass, immediately ordered a musketeer to take his aim:—"Fire at him," cried he, "that must be a man of distinction." The soldier fired, and shattered the king's left arm. At the same moment his valiant squadrons surrounded him, and a confused noise, in the midst of which only these words were heard, The king is wounded! the king is shot! filled them with terror and consternation. "It is nothing; "follow me," cried the king, collecting all his strength. But soon, overcome by pain, ready to faint, he begged of the Duke of Lauenburg, in French, to take him, with-

out being seen, out of the tumult. While the Duke proceeded towards the right wing with the king, and made a long circuit to conceal from the disordered infantry this discouraging spectacle, Gustavus received a second shot in the back, which deprived him of his remaining strength. "I have enough, my brother," were his dying words; "seek only to save your own life." At the same time he fell from his horse, pierced by several shots, and, abandoned by all his attendants, he expired amidst the Croatian plunderers. Soon his charger, covered with blood, and flying without his master over the plain, informed the Swedish cavalry of the king's fall. Furiously they darted towards the place to rescue the precious remains of their sovereign from the barbarous hands which were dispoiling them. A sanguinary conflict was fought around his dead body, and his mangled corpse was buried under a heap of the slain.* In an instant the terrible news

* "Thus died the most accomplished of heroes; the only conqueror, perhaps, who ever made conquests in his own defence. I am far, however, from thinking he was free from ambition when he undertook the war against the emperor. Piety (though perhaps not without a degree of affectation), heroic intrepidity in the field, consummate policy in the cabinet, and admirable humanity, were the leading features of a man who was more fortunate, both in his life and death, than any character of which we read in history.

Some men have so little known him (for no good history of his exploits has hitherto appeared in England, that of Hart being by no means well executed), as to give Charles the Twelfth's victories in Poland the superiority over those of Gustavus in Germany. But, besides that the former was a barbarian, whose cruelty and insolence would disgrace the most brilliant successes, he had by no means the enemy to cope with that his predecessor had; the *Muscovites* were not yet transformed into those *Russians* who, under a Munich and a Potemkin, have, in our days, not only been the ter-

spread itself throughout the Swedish army; but, instead of diminishing the courage of these brave legions, it renewed and inflamed it even to desperation. Life is no longer of any value, since the most sacred of all lives is no more; death has no longer any terrors to the common soldier, since it has not spared the crowned head. Like furious lions the Upland, Smaland, Finland, Eastland, West Gothland regiments precipitate themselves a second time upon the enemy's left wing, who now oppose to General Horn only a feeble resistance, and are completely defeated.

At the same time Bernhard, Duke of Weimar, a warrior whose talents were equal to his great courage, takes upon him the command of the king's orphan army, and the genius of Gustavus Adolphus yet conducts the victorious phalanxes. In an instant order is re-established in the left wing: Duke Bernhard penetrates the right wing of the Imperialists; he obtains possession of the artillery at the windmills, which causes the greatest destruction, and directs against the enemy the thunder of their own cannon. The centre of the Swedish infantry, conducted by the Duke and Kniphausen, advance anew against the trenches, and, for the second time, the battery of seven

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ror of the Turks, but, even, contrary to expectation, combated and conquered the Prussian troops, then the first in the world. Gustavus Adolphus must have been an extraordinary general to have so easily overcome the Austrians, who, though often vanquished, have been for centuries, perhaps, the most warlike people in Europe.

Had he not sullied his deeds by refusing to reinstate the unfortunate Elector Palatine, his character would, to this day, have been perfect. But what character can, above all, resist ambition, a passion rooted in all ages and conditions, and infinitely more powerful than love itself?"

cannons is carried. The attack now recommences with redoubled fury upon the enemy's centre; their resistance becomes more and more feeble, and accident itself seems to assist the bravery of the Swedes in completing their defeat. The Imperial powder-waggons blew up, and, in the midst of this terrible noise, an immense quantity of grenades and bomb-shells are carried into the air. The enemy, now in confusion, believe themselves to be surprised in the rear, while the Swedish brigades attack them in the front; their courage abandons them; they see their left wing beaten, their right upon the point of being so, and their artillery in the power of the Swedes:—victory is ready to declare itself; the destiny of the day depends only upon a moment. But at this critical juncture Pappenheim arrives at the head of the Cuirassiers and the Dragoons; all the advantages hitherto obtained are lost, and a new battle recommences.

The order which recalled this general to Lutzen had reached him at Halle, at the moment when his soldiers were still occupied in plundering that town. It was impossible to reassemble all their infantry with the promptitude which the pressing orders and the impatience of this warrior required. Without waiting till they were reunited, he caused eight regiments of cavalry to mount, and placed himself at their head, and advanced in full gallop to Lutzen, to take a part in the battle of this day. He arrived in sufficient time to witness the defeat of the left wing of the Imperialists, beaten by Gustavus Horn; and he was himself, during some moments, entangle in this defeat; but his presence of mind soon rallied these fugitive bands, and he led them again against the enemy.

Excited by his impetuous courage, and full of impatience to confront himself with the king, who, he sup-

posed commanded this wing, he fell with fury upon the Swedish squadrons, who, fatigued by victory, and now too weak in numbers, gave way before this new body of enemies, making at the same time the most courageous resistance. The unexpected appearance of Pappenheim, upon whom they no longer reckoned, awakened the almost extinguished courage of the Imperial infantry, and the Duke of Friedland seized with promptitude the favourable moment of forming his line again. The Swedish battalions, in a close body, are repulsed, after a desperate combat beyond the trenches, and the cannon, twice taken, are rescued a second time. The entire yellow regiment, the bravest of those who signalized their courage on this sanguinary day, lay dead upon the field of battle in the same order which they had so valiantly preserved before they fell. Such was also the fate of a regiment in blue, which Count Piccolomini attacked with the Imperial cavalry, and overcame, after a most terrible resistance.

This excellent general renewed his attack seven times, seven horses were killed under him, and, pierced by six musket balls, he did not abandon the field of battle until led by the general retreat of the whole army. The Duke of Friedland himself was seen in the midst of a shower of balls, riding with cold intrepidity through the ranks of his troops, succouring the distressed, applauding the brave, and punishing the cowardly by his severe regard. Around him, and by his side, death harvested in crowds his warriors; his mantle is even perforated by many balls. But the avenging gods protected on this day him who must soon fall by the steel of an assassin, which is already preparing:—upon the field of honour where Gustavus

met his fate, Wallenstein must not terminate his guilty career.

The same good fortune was not reserved for Pappenheim, the Telamon of the army,—the most formidable soldier of the House of Austria and of the Church. An ardent desire to combat the king in person had drawn this furious warrior into the middle of the most sanguinary conflict, where he thought he would least fail of meeting his noble enemy. Gutavus had also expressed an anxious wish to see this esteemed opponent before him; but the secret ardour which animated the one against the other could not be satisfied, and death alone brought these two heroes together. Two musket balls pierced Pappenheim's breast, which was already covered with scars, and they were obliged to take him by force from the scene of carnage. While they were occupied in transporting him behind the line, it was whispered in his ear, that he whom he sought lay dead upon the field of battle. When the truth of this report was confirmed, his countenance became serene, and his eyes sparkled with joy. "Let them "announce to the Duke of Friedland," cried he, "that "I am wounded without hope; but die joyfully, since "I know that the most implacable enemy of my religion "is fallen on the same day with me."

With Pappenheim, the good fortune of the Imperialists disappeared from the field of battle. The cavalry of the left wing, scarcely deprived of the victorious chief who had rallied it, believed all lost by his death, and, abandoning themselves to the most cowardly dejection, fled. A similar disorder was likewise experienced by the right wing, which also took flight, with the exception of some regiments which the intrepidity of their colonels, Goetz, Terzki, Kolloredo, and Piccolomini, compelled to keep

their ground. The Swedish infantry profited with quick determination of the enemy's confusion. In order to fill up the openings which death had made in the first line of battle, they formed both lines into one, and hazarded at last the decisive attack. For the third time they crossed the trenches, and for the third time the cannon fell into their hands. The sun is about setting, and both armies renew their sanguinary struggle; the action, near its termination, recommences more terrible than ever; on both sides the greatest strength is tried: address and fury make the most violent efforts to regain in these precious moments the advantages of the day. In vain despair elevates each combatant above himself; no one can conquer, no one can retreat; and tactics only seem to exhaust on one side its most learned resources to give place on the other to the most surprising efforts of skill. At length the fog and night put an end to this contest, which fury does not know how to finish, and the attack ceases because the enemy can no longer discover each other.

The two armies separate by a tacit agreement, the trumpets make the consoling signal for retreat, and each, declaring itself unconquered, abandons the plain. The artillery of both armies passed the night upon the field of battle for want of horses. It must be, at the same time, the prize and the pledge of the victory of whoever shall maintain the ground; but the precipitation with which the Duke of Friedland abandoned Leipzig and Saxony made him forget to withdraw his share of the artillery. A short time after the battle was ended, Pappenheim's infantry arrived, six regiments strong, and which had not been able to follow their general with sufficient rapidity; they arrived too late, the fate of the day was decided. It is probable, had this considerable re-enforcement come some

hours sooner, the victory would have been decided in favour of the Imperialists; they would even have been able, in occupying the field of battle immediately after their arrival, to save the Duke of Friedland's artillery and take that of the Swedes; but, without order to regulate their conduct, and entirely ignorant of the issue of the battle, they took the road to Leipzig, where they hoped to find the main army. The Duke of Friedland had retired to Leipzig, and the next day the scattered remains of his army followed him there, without artillery, without colours, and almost without arms.

It appears that, after the efforts of this sanguinary day, Duke Bernhard refreshed his troops between Lutzen and Weissenfels sufficiently near the field of battle to oppose himself to any endeavours the enemy might make to render himself master of it. More than nine thousand dead of both armies remained upon the ground; the number of wounded was much more considerable: it appears even, that on the side of the Imperialists there was hardly found a single man who had returned unhurt from the combat. The entire plain from Lutzen to the canal was covered with the dead, the dying, and the wounded. Many of the most distinguished nobles on both sides had perished; even the Abbot of Fulda, who had mixed in the combat as a spectator, paid with his life for his curiosity and his misplaced zeal. History is silent with regard to prisoners, another proof of the fury which animated both armies, neither of which would give nor receive quarter. Pappenheim died at Leipzig on the following day of his wounds, an irreparable loss to the Imperial army, which this valiant warrior had so often conducted to victory. The battle of Prague, where at the same time with Wallenstein he assisted in quality of colonel, opened his glo-

rious career. Although grievously wounded in this action, listening to nothing but his impetuous courage, he cut down with a few troops an enemy's regiment; fell under his horse, and remained several hours on the field of battle confounded with the dead, until some of his own people, coming to pillage, discovered him. He conquered in three different battles, at the head of a small number of troops, the rebels of Upper Austria, whose numbers amounted to more than forty thousand. He retarded by his bravery for a long time Tilly's defeat at Leipzig, and caused the emperor's arms to triumph upon the Elbe and the Weser. The impetuous ardour of his courage, which the greatest danger could not intimidate, which impossibilities hardly constrained, made him the most powerful arm in the Imperial army, but at the same time rendered him incapable of fulfilling the functions of commander-in-chief. His ardour and his impetuosity, if Tilly is to be credited, lost the battle of Leipzig; he plunged his hands in blood at the storming of Magdeburg; his mind, cultivated by youthful application and much travelling, had grown ferocious under arms. Two red streaks were seen upon his forehead in the form of swords, by which it would appear nature had already distinguished him at his birth; they still appeared in his latter years whenever he was agitated by any violent passion, and superstition did not fail to see even during his infancy his future vocation. Such a servant had acquired the most solid claims to the gratitude of both the lines of the House of Austria, but he did not live sufficiently long to receive the most flattering mark of it. The messenger who was upon the road from Madrid to convey to him the order of the Golden Fleece, had hardly parted when he expired at Leipzig. Although they chanted the Te Deum in all the Austrian and Spanish

states to celebrate this victory, the promptitude with which Wallenstein abandoned Leipzig, and soon after all Saxony, renouncing the establishing of his winter quarters there, openly and positively proclaimed his defeat: he made, indeed, a slight attempt to take in some measure from the enemy the honour of the victory; he sent the next morning his Croats to make a circuit of the field of battle, but the aspect of the Swedish army which they found there in order of battle in an instant dispersed all these ravaging bands, and Duke Bernhard, taking possession of the field of battle, and soon after of Leipzig, gave him an incontestable claim to all the rights of a conqueror. But, alas, what a dear victory! what a sorrowful triumph! Now that the fury of the battle is over, Gustavus's army feels the great importance of the loss it has sustained. To the cries of joy the silence of despair succeeds. He who led them to the combat is not returned with them after the victory; he remains upon the theatre of his triumph, mixed with the common crowd in death. After long and almost useless searches, they at length discovered the royal corpse not far from the great stone which for a century before had been seen between the canal and Lutzen, but which, from the memorable disaster of this day, bears the name of the Swedish Rock. Disfigured by blood and wounds so as to be scarcely known, trodden under horses' feet, stripped of his clothes by the hands of barbarians, he is drawn from a heap of the dead, transported to Weissenfels, and there delivered up to the regards of his surviving soldiers, and to the last embraces of his queen. The first movement had been that of vengeance, floods of blood had run to appease the manes of the expired monarch: now the keenest lamentations, the sentiments of the extreme love which the Swedes bore to

Gustavus, must occupy their entire mind. The private distress gives way to the public misfortune. Still confounded by the dreadful blow which has struck them, the generals, silent around his bier, do not dare to lift up their eyes to contemplate the mortal remains of the hero who formerly conducted them to victory. The emperor, as Khevenhuller states, shewed a proper feeling at the sight of the doublet covered with blood which had been taken from the king after the battle and sent to Vienna, which probably came from his heart. "Willingly," cried he, "would I have granted a longer life to this unfortunate "prince, as well as a happy retreat into his native coun- "try, if peace could only have been re-established in "Germany." But, if a more modern Catholic historian of acknowledged merit gives us this proof of the most common humanity, this sentiment that decency alone commands, and which self-love renders even the most unfeeling heart capable of; when, I say, he presents to us this sentiment as worthy of the highest eulogy, and even compares it to Alexander's generosity for the memory of Darius, it inspires us with very little confidence in the merit of his hero, or, what is worse still, in his own ideas of the moral dignity of mankind. But such praise is still much when one is forced to raise suspicions of regicide against him to whom it is addressed.

It was hardly to be expected that the powerful inclination of mankind for the marvellous would permit them to attribute to the natural course of events the glory of having terminated the precious life of Gustavus Adolphus. The death of this formidable adversary was to the emperor too important an event not to create among his enemies the terrible suspicion that he had himself prepared it; but the execution of this black deed required the aid of

a foreign arm, which they believed to have discovered in the person of Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg. His rank gave him a free and unsuspected access to the king, and his dignity raised him above all suspicion of a dishonourable act. It remains then only to be shewn that this prince was capable of such a crime, and that he had sufficient motives to induce him actually to commit it.

Francis Albert, the youngest of four sons of Francis II. Duke of Lauenburg, and related, on his mother's side, to the royal house of Vasa, had received from his infancy the most flattering reception at the court of Sweden. An indecorum which he permitted himself in the apartment of the queen dowager against Gustavus Adolphus, it is said, drew from this fiery youth a box on the ear, which, though immediately repented of and offered the fullest satisfaction for, left in the vindictive mind of the duke the foundation of an implacable hatred. Francis Albert afterwards entered into the emperor's service, who gave him a regiment. He contracted the closest friendship with the Duke of Friedland, and lent himself to a private negociation with the court of Saxony, which did little honour to his rank. Suddenly, and without being able to give any motive for his conduct, he abandoned the emperor's colours, and appeared at Nuremberg in the camp of the King of Sweden, to offer him his services as a volunteer. His zeal for the Protestant cause, his flattering and insinuating manners, soon gained him the king's heart, who, notwithstanding the sage advice of Oxenstiern, granted his favour and friendship to this suspicious stranger. Soon after, at the battle of Lutzen, he is seen by the king's side as an evil demon, and does not separate until he falls. In the midst of the ene-

my's balls he remains unhurt, a green scarf which he wore round his body, of the same colour as that of the Imperialists, preserves him. He is the first to carry to his friend the Duke of Friedland the news of the king's death. Immediately after the battle he passes from the Swedish service into that of Saxony. At the assassination of Wallenstein, arrested as an accomplice of this general, he only escapes death on the scaffold by abjuring his faith. At length he again appears in Silesia in quality of a general of the Imperial army, and dies of his wounds before Schwednitz. It is certainly with difficulty that the innocence of a man can be credited who has run such a career, but, even if from all these facts the strong probability results that he was the author of such a crime, it must not, however, be absolutely concluded that he really was so. It is certain that Gustavus Adolphus exposed himself to danger as the commonest soldier in his army; and, where thousands fell, he might also meet his death. The manner in which he was struck is yet enveloped in an impenetrable veil; but it is above all, when the natural and simple course of things suffices to explain events, that the maxim must be applied which forbids to calumniate unnecessarily the moral dignity of mankind. But, by whatever hand he may have fallen, the catastrophe which took him away must be classed in the order of great events, which drew after them the gravest results. History, so often confined to the ungrateful and uniform developement of human passions, offers sometimes striking and unexpected traits, by which destiny is pleased to destroy all the vain calculations of human wisdom, and, in an instant, reverse the projects of pride and ambition. It is thus that Gustavus Adolphus, by his sudden disappearance from the political theatre, causes a general con-

sternation. His fall suddenly arrests the march of European politics, destroys all plans, disconcerts all ideas. But yesterday he was the vivifying genius, the only and powerful spring of his vast and noble enterprise:—to day, fallen without return from the height of glory and of fortune, torn from his numerous projects, taken away from his hopes ready to be realized, he leaves, a prey to the keenest grief, a party who relied upon him for its success; thus falls the proud edifice of its transient grandeur. The Protestant party could with difficulty abandon the brilliant hopes attached to the existence of this monarch, whom fortune had been pleased to favour until now; in losing him, they believed they had lost every thing. But it was no longer the benefactor of Germany who perished at Lutzen; the beneficent career of Gustavus Adolphus had terminated, and the greatest service that he could now render to the German liberty was to die. The power of one only, that which absorbed all others, is broken by his death; the number of inferior powers which he held enchained are agitated, and try their strength; instead of founding their existence upon the equivocal support of an all-powerful protector, each aspires to the glory of defending himself. Servile instruments until now of the aggrandizement of one only, they begin, for the first time, to work for themselves; it is in their own courage that from henceforth they seek the means of safety, which is never accepted without danger from the stronger hand; and the Swedish power, no longer able to act as an oppressive one, naturally returns within the modest limits of a common ally. It is certain that the Swedish monarch's ambition aspired to an authority upon the German soil, incompatible with the liberty of the states of the empire, and to a permanent possession in the centre of Ger-

many. His aim was the Imperial throne, and this dignity, strengthened by all his power, exercised with his extraordinary activity, would have been much more dangerous in his hands than in those of the princes of the House of Austria. Born in a foreign country, brought up in the maxims of absolute power, given up to a pious fanaticism, which made him the declared enemy of the Catholics, it was hardly probable that this prince would always preserve that profound respect which he had shewn at first for the constitution of the empire and the liberty of the states. The humiliating homage which the Imperial town of Augsburg, as well as many others, was obliged to render to the Swedish power, announced less the protector than the conqueror of the empire; and Augsburg, more proud of the title of a royal residence than of the glorious prerogative of a free Imperial city, already flattered itself with becoming the seat of the new empire. The views, too little dissimulated, of Gustavus upon the archbishopric of Mentz, which he at first destined for the Elector of Brandenburg, to serve as a dower to his daughter Christina, and afterwards to Oxenstiern, his chancellor and friend, shewed how little he was capable of respecting the constitution of the empire. The Protestant princes, his allies, had claims upon his gratitude; but their pretensions were such, that it was impossible to satisfy them otherwise than at the expense of the other German states, and particularly of the immediate ecclesisastical establishments; and perhaps he had even resolved to consider the conquered provinces as a common prize, and divide them among his companions in arms, both Germans and Swedes, according to the example of those barbarous hordes who overrun the Roman empire. —In his conduct towards the Elector Palatine, he completely belied the

generosity of the hero and the sacred character of a protector. The Palatinate was in his hands, and the rules of justice, as well as those of honour, made it a duty to render this province, taken from the Spaniards, to its legitimate sovereign; but, by a subtlety unworthy of a great man, and which dishonours the noble character of the defender of the oppressed, Gustavus eluded this obligation: he considered the Palatinate as a conquest which had fallen from the hands of the enemy into his own, and believed, in consequence, that he had the right of disposing of it according to his will. It was therefore as a favour, and not from a principle of duty, that he gave up the Palatinate to the Elector, and the conditions upon which he did so diminished its value by one half: the Palatinate was considered as a fief of the crown of Sweden, and the unfortunate Frederic V. was made a contemptible vassal of Sweden. One of the conditions to which he made the elector subscribe was, "That, after "the termination of the war, he should, according to the "example of the other princes, contribute to maintain a "part of the Swedish army." This makes us sufficiently acquainted with what would have been the fate of Germany if fortune had continued to favour Gustavus. The sudden death of this monarch secured the liberty of the German empire, and left him his glory in all its purity, if it did not even spare him the mortification of seeing his allies in arms against him, and all the fruit of his past triumphs disappear in a disadvantageous peace. Saxony already shewed herself inclined to desert his cause; Denmark beheld his elevation with uneasiness and jealousy; and even France, his most important ally, alarmed at the imperiousness of his language and formidable increase of power, sought, when he passed the Lech, to form fo-

reign alliances to check this triumphant *Goth* in his march, and re-establish the balance of power in Europe.

END OF BOOK III.

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

BOOK IV.

THE weak bond of union which united the Protestant members of the empire, and which Gustavus Adolphus had carefully maintained, was broken at his death. The allies returned to their former liberty, or were obliged to form themselves into a new alliance. In the former case they lost all the advantages which they had acquired at the expense of so much blood, and exposed themselves to the inevitable danger of becoming the prey of a powerful enemy, which their close union alone had enabled them to oppose with effect. Neither could Sweden herself, nor any of the states of the empire, contend singly against the League and the Emperor; and by seeking for a peace under such circumstances they would have been constrained to receive the law from the enemy. Union was therefore the only means by which they could conclude a peace or continue the war.

But a peace sought under the present circumstances could not be otherwise than disadvantageous to the allied powers. The death of Gustavus Adolphus had animated the enemy with new hopes; and however disastrous the situation of the emperor became after the battle of Lützen, the death of this most formidable adversary was an

event too favourable to his interests, and too contrary to those of his enemies, not to flatter him with the most brilliant expectations, and encourage him in the prosecution of the war. The division of the allies must be, at least for some time, the inevitable consequence of this event: and how greatly would the Emperor and the League gain by such a division! Ferdinand could not therefore consent to sacrifice such great advantages as the present situation of affairs promised, to make a peace in which he would not have the greatest advantages on his side; and such a peace the allies could not wish to conclude. The most natural resolution therefore was for the continuation of the war, and their union was the most necessary means for continuing it with success. But how to renew this union, and from whence were the forces to be drawn for carrying on the war? It was not the power of the Swedish empire which had given to its departed chief that decisive influence in Germany, that magical ascendency by means of which he had gained all hearts, it was his genius, his personal qualities; and, notwithstanding, what difficulties had he not experienced to unite by a feeble and insecure tie the states of the empire? At his death all that his heroical qualities alone had been able to create and maintain vanished; and the union of the states ceased at the same time with the hopes upon which they had been founded. Many of the states impatiently threw of the yoke which they had not borne without reluctance; others hastened to seize the reins of power which they had beheld with jealousy in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus, but which they were not sufficiently powerful to take from him in his life time. Others, led away by the emperor's seducing promises, abandoned the union; others, borne down by the calamities of a

fourteen years' war, lost courage and sighed for a peace, however disastrous it might be.

The chiefs of the armies, in part German Princes, acknowledged no common head, and no one would condescend to receive commands from another. Concord disappeared in the cabinet as well as in the field, and the common cause is in danger of perishing by this spirit of division.

Gustavus had not left any male heir to the Swedish kingdom, his daughter Christina, then six years of age, was the natural successor to the throne. The inevitable inconveniences of a regency accorded but little with the energy and the resolution which Sweden should shew in these critical circumstances. The elevated genius of Gustavus Adolphus had raised this weak and obscure power to an equal rank with the first states of Europe, which, without the fortune and the mind of its author, it could not maintain, and from which it could not descend without the most shameful avowal of its weakness

Although the German war was carried on for the most part with the forces of Germany, yet the feeble resources which Sweden had furnished in men and money had exhausted this poor kingdom, and the subject sunk under the burden which they were obliged to impose upon him. The booty made in Germany during the war had only enriched individuals among the nobility and the military, but Sweden still remained poor. For some time, indeed, the subject, flattered with the national glory, forgot the evils which overwhelmed him; he considered his taxes only as a loan which would yield good interest in the fortunate hands of Gustavus Adolphus, and which this grateful monarch would not fail to repay with gratitude at the end of a glorious peace. But this hope vanished with the

death of the king, and the deceived people demanded, with a formidable unanimity, the dimunition of their burdens. But the genius of Gustavus Adolphus yet reposed entire in the men to whom he had confided the administration of his kingdom. However dreadful the news of his death was to them, yet it did not shake their heroical courage, and the spirit of old Rome, when attacked by Brennus and Hannibal, animated this noble assembly. The more it had cost to obtain the advantages they were in possession of, the less were they disposed to abandon them. They could not support the idea of having lost their king in vain. The Swedish Senate, forced to choose between the two inevitable evils of a terrible war, uncertain in its results, and a useful though a disgraceful peace, courageously took the part of danger and honour, and, with agreeable surprise, this venerable senate was seen to shew all the vigour of youth in its resolutions. Both within and without surrounded by powerful enemies, and threatened on all sides with danger, it arms against all with as much skill as courage, and works for the aggrandizement of the kingdom, while it could with difficulty maintain its own existence.

The death of the king, and the minority of his daughter Christina, awakened the old pretensions of Poland again; and King Ladislaus, Sigismund's son, neglected no means whatever to create a party in this kingdom. On this account, the senate in Stockholm lost not a moment in proclaiming Christina, hardly six years of age, as their sovereign, and in regulating the affairs of the Regency. All the functionaries of the kingdom were required to take the oath of allegiance to the new queen. All correspondence with Poland was interdicted, and the declarations of the last king against the heirs of Sigismund were

solemnly confirmed. A treaty of friendship was prudently renewed with the Czar of Muscovy, to keep hostile Poland the better in check by the arms of this prince. The death of Gustavus Adolphus had subdued the jealousy of the King of Denmark, and removed the difficulties which had hitherto stood in the way of a good understanding between these two neighbours. The efforts of the enemy to arm Christian IV. against the Swedish empire now remained without effect; and the anxious wish which this monarch had to marry his son Ulrich to the young queen, concurred with the principle of a better policy, to engage him to embrace neutrality. At the same time, England, Holland, and France, made the most agreeable assurances to the Swedish senate of their friendship and continual support, and urged them, with common accord, to continue with ardour a war commenced with so much glory.

However much France had had reason to congratulate herself upon the death of the Swedish conqueror, yet this crown felt at the present moment the necessity of confirming as closely as ever its ancient alliance with Sweden. It could not allow the Swedish power in Germany to fall, without exposing itself to the greatest danger. Want of power either obliged her to conclude a hasty and disastrous peace with Austria; and then the efforts which they had made for restraining the immense power of this ambitious nation were lost; or necessity and despair would constrain the armies to seek the means of subsistence in the Catholic states, and France would then appear to betray the states which she had taken under her protection.

The fall of Gustavus Adolphus, very far from annihilating the union which existed between France and Sweden, had made it much more necessary to both states, but it rendered it above all more useful to France. Now, for

the first time, when the powerful arm which protected the German frontiers against the ambition of France no longer existed, this power could give itself up, without obstacles, to the execution of its projects upon Alsace, and make the Protestants of Germany purchase its assistance at a so much higher price. Strengthened by these alliances, secured at home, defended on other parts likewise by excellent fortifications and a powerful fleet, the senate did not remain an instant undecided to continue a war, by which Sweden had little of her own to lose, and, in the event of success, might hope to obtain, either by conquest or indemnification, a province of Germany. Secured by her geographical position, she hazarded not much more if her armies should be driven out of the German empire, than if they abandoned it of their own free will, and the former was just as glorious as the latter was dishonorable. The more vigour she shewed in her conduct, the more confidence she inspired in her allies, the more esteem in her enemies, and the more she could expect to obtain favourable conditions in case of peace. Should they find themselves not sufficiently strong to execute Gustavus's extensive plans, the example left them by this great man taught them at least to try the uttermost, and yield only to the imperious law of necessity. Unfortunately the motive of personal interest had too great a part in this glorious resolution to excite our admiration without reserve! It was certainly easy for those to pronounce for the prosecution of the war, who had nothing to lose by so doing; but who, on the contrary, might be enriched thereby, for after all it was Germany alone which supported the expenses of it, and to become masters of the provinces which they had in view, by furnishing a very small number of troops, by placing Swedish generals at the head of

the greatest part of the German armies, and directing, in consequence, the military operations as well as the negociations, was to obtain them at a cheap rate. But this very direction of affairs ill agreed with the distance which the regency found itself from the theatre of war, and with the delays naturally attached to the form of the decisions of the assembly. Circumstances therefore required an individual endowed with a vast genius, to be invested with the power of watching over the interest of Sweden in Germany, of deciding upon war and peace, alliances and conquests. This supreme magistrate must be clothed with a dictatorial power, and with all the consideration of the crown which he represented; this was the only means of sustaining the dignity with splendour, to give union to the common operations, weight to its decisions, and to replace in every respect, the monarch whom he succeeded. They found such a man in the person of Oxenstiern, Chancellor, the first minister, and, what is still more, the friend of the deceased king, who, initiated in all his master's secrets, familiarized with the affairs of Germany, acquainted with all the political relations of Europe, was, without contradiction, the most proper instrument for executing the plans of Gustavus Adolphus in their fullest extent.

" Oxenstiern had just taken a journey into Upper Germany, for the purpose of convoking the four higher circles there, when he heard at Hanau of the death of the king. This dreadful blow, which pierced the sensible heart of Oxenstiern, as it deprived him of all that he most esteemed upon earth, plunged the statesman into a sorrow which deprived him of all his faculties for some time; all that his entire soul was attached to was torn from him. Sweden had only lost a king, Germany only a protector: Oxen-

stiern had lost the author of his fortune, the friend of his heart, the creator of all the brilliant ideas with which his imagination was furnished. But, struck more than any other person by the common misfortune, he was also the first to recover himself, as he was the only one who could repair so great a disaster. His penetrating eye saw all the obstacles which were opposed to the execution of his designs, the discouragement of the states, the intrigues of the hostile courts, the division of the allies, the jealousy of the chiefs, the repugnance of the princes of the empire to leave the direction of affairs to foreign hands. But even this penetrating glance into the present situation of affairs discovered to him all the extent of the evil, and shewed to him also the remedy. It was of importance to raise the fallen courage of the weaker states, to work against the secret machinations of the enemy, to reconcile the jealousies of the powerful states, to animate the allied powers, particularly France, to a vigorous support, and, above all, to assemble the wrecks of the German confederation, and unite the scattered forces of the Protestant party by a close and durable tie. The confusion into which the death of Gustavus Adolphus had plunged the Protestants of Germany might even as well urge them to a close alliance with Sweden, as to the conclusion of a precipitate peace with the emperor, and only upon the conduct which was now pursued depended which of these two effects would take place. Every thing was lost so soon as discouragement was shewn; assurance, on the contrary, would inspire a noble self-confidence in the Germans. All the attempts of the Imperial court to withdraw the last from the alliancé of Sweden failed in their aim, as soon as their eyes were opened to their true interests, and that they were brought to an open and for-

mal breach with the emperor. It certainly happened that before these measures were taken, before the principal points were arranged between the Government and its minister, the Swedish army lost a precious time, from which the enemy drew the greatest advantages. The emperor could at this epoch, if he had listened to the wise counsel of the Duke of Friedland, have destroyed without resource the Swedish power in Germany. Wallenstein advised him to proclaim an unbounded amnesty, and to make favourable propositions to the Protestant states. In the first alarm which the death of Gustavus Adolphus produced among all the Protestant party, this declaration would have had the greatest effect, and brought the wavering states to the feet of the emperor. But, blinded by such an unexpected good fortune, led away by the instigations of Spain, Ferdinand would try the fate of arms, in the hope that he would by this means still obtain a more brilliant issue, and, instead of giving ear to the wise projects of mediation which were proposed to him, he hastened to augment his forces. Spain, enriched by the tythes which the pope had permitted her to take from the ecclesiastical property, supported him with considerable advances, negociated for him at the court of Saxony, and hastily raised troops in Italy, which were to combat in Germany. The Elector of Bavaria also sent considerable re-enforcements to his armies, and the turbulent genius of the Duke of Lorraine did not permit him to remain idle under such a fortunate change of circumstances. But, while the enemy shewed so much impatience to profit of the misfortune of Sweden, Oxenstiern neglected nothing to prevent the fatal effects of it. Less afraid of a public enemy than of the secret jealousy of the allied powers, he abandoned Upper Germany, where he

believed himself secure by conquests and existing alliances, and went in person into the states of Lower Saxony to prevent their total defection, or even a private confederation among them, which was equally as dangerous to Sweden.

The Elector of Saxony, offended at the seeming arrogance with which the chancellor took upon himself the direction of affairs, and shocked at the thoughts of receiving his instructions from a Swedish nobleman, again employed all his efforts to effect a fatal separation from the Swedes; and the question with him was, merely whether he should reconcile himself fully to the emperor, or place himself at the head of the Protestants, and form with them a third party in Germany. The Duke Ulrich, of Brunswick, nourished similar projects, and made them sufficiently well known by forbidding the Swedes to raise troops in his territory, and by inviting, at Lunenburg, the states of Lower Saxony to form an alliance among them. The Elector of Brandenburg alone, jealous of the influence which the Elector of Saxony would acquire in Lower Germany, shewed some zeal for the interests of the Swedish crown, which he believed he already saw upon the head of his son.

Oxenstiern indeed met with the most flattering reception at the court of John George, but, notwithstanding the application of the Elector of Brandenburg, vague promises of a lasting friendship was all he could obtain from this prince. He was more fortunate with the Duke of Brunswick, towards whom he permitted himself to hold a higher language.

Sweden at this time possessed the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, whose bishop had the right of assembling the circle of Lower Saxony. The chancellor maintained

the rights of his crown, and, by this happy employment of his power, prevented for this time the critical convocation of the states. But the general confederation of the Protestants, the principal object of his present journey, and all his future efforts, miscarried now and for ever, and he was obliged to content himself with separate and insecure alliances in the circles of Saxony, and with the feeble succours of Upper Germany. Since the Bavarian forces were too powerful upon the Danube, they transferred the meeting of the four upper circles, which was to take place at Ulm, to Heilbron, where the deputies of more than twelve Imperial towns met, as also a splendid crowd of doctors, princes, and counts. The foreign powers likewise of France, England, and Holland, sent deputies to this assembly, and Oxenstiern appeared there with all the pomp of that crown, the majesty of which he was to sustain. He himself opened the assembly by a speech, and directed the course of the deliberations. After having obtained from the assembled states the assurance of an unshaken fidelity of their perseverance and union, he desired of them that they should formally and solemnly declare the emperor and the league their enemies.

However much Sweden had an interest in bringing to an open rupture the misintelligence which reigned between the emperor and the states, yet they were as little inclined by this decided step to cut off all possibility of a reconciliation, and by so doing place their entire fate in the hands of Sweden. They replied, that a formal declaration of war, as the act spoke for itself, was useless and superfluous, and their firm opposition reduced the chancellor to silence. The third point, the most important of the deliberations, excited a more violent debate in the assembly; it was upon determining the means which should

be employed for continuing the war, and what subsidies the states should furnish for the support of the armies. —Oxenstiern's maxim, to throw the expenses of the war, as much as possible upon Germany, did not reconcile itself with the principle of the states, which was, to give as little as possible. The Swedish chancellor here experienced only what thirty emperors before him had found to be the case, namely, that of all enterprises it is the most difficult to obtain money from Germans. Instead of granting him the necessary sums for the expenses of the new armies which they were going to raise, they made a grand display of all the calamities which had been already caused, and demanded the diminution of the former burdens, instead of imposing new ones. The bad humour in which this demand of the chancellor's for money had placed the states, gave birth to a thousand complaints, and they made terrible representations of all the disorders committed by the troops, both on their march, as also in their quarters.

Oxenstiern had had, in the service of two absolute princes, but little opportunity of familiarizing himself with the slowness and formalities of republican operations, and of exercising his patience in contradictions. Ready to act as soon as he saw the necessity for doing so, hasty in the execution of his designs whenever he had formed them, he did not comprehend the inconsistencies common to most men, who desire to obtain an object, and reject the necessary means for so doing. Naturally penetrating and passionate, he was still more so from principle on this occasion; he must now conceal by a confident and firm language the weakness of the Swedish kingdom, and must take upon him the tone of a master, to become so in reality.

No wonder, therefore, if with such ideas he should find himself entirely out of his sphere in the midst of German doctors and states, and if he was more than once brought to despair by the exactness which distinguishes the German character in all its public transactions. Without regarding a custom to which the most powerful emperors had been obliged to submit, he rejected all written deliberations which were so conformable to the national coolness; he did not comprehend how they could employ ten days in the discussion of a point which he thought would have been decided upon its being first proposed. With whatever severity he treated the states, he did not find them the less disposed to grant his fourth proposition, which concerned himself. When it came to the necessity of giving a supreme head to the alliance, they unanimously granted this honour to Sweden, and requested him submissively to serve the public cause with his enlightened understanding, and to take upon his own shoulders the burden of superintending the common affairs. To secure themselves from the abuse that such an immense power might be liable to as that which they had given into his hands, they placed at his side, not without French influence, in quality of assistants, a certain number of inspectors charged with watching over the funds of the Confederation, and to aid by giving their advice as to the enrolling, marching, and quartering, of the troops. Oxenstiern vehemently contended against this restriction of his power, the necessary effect of which was to shackle all the operations which required promptitude and secrecy; the only thing which he could obtain, with difficulty, was the liberty of acting according to his own will in military affairs. At length the chancellor arrived at the most delicate point, namely, that of indemnifica-

tion, which Sweden had a right to promise herself from the generosity and gratitude of her allies at the end of the war, and he flattered himself with the hope that Pomerania would be allotted to her, which was the chief aim of Sweden, and that the states would aid him with all their power to assure to his country the acquisition of this important province. But he could only obtain a general promise that no party should be abandoned at a future peace. It was not, however, out of respect to the constitution of the empire that the states were so reserved upon this point, the proof of which is in the generosity which they were inclined to shew to the chancellor, in contempt of the most sacred laws of the empire. They were very near giving him, by way of recompense, the archbishopric of Mentz, which he possessed already as a conquest, and it was with the greatest trouble the ambassador of France could prevent this measure as impolitic, as dishonourable.

However Oxenstiern was deceived in his expectations, he had nevertheless obtained his principal point for his crown and for himself, the direction of the whole; he had drawn together both more closely and securely the ties which united the four upper circles of Germany, and obtained for the maintenance of the army an annual subsidy of two millions and a half of dollars. So much deference on the part of the states merited an acknowledgement on the side of Sweden.

A few weeks after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, grief had put an end to the life of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, Frederic. This prince, worthy of compassion, had already passed eight months at the court of his protector, and consumed in it the small remains of his property; he at length approached the object of his wishes,

and a more joyful prospect seemed to open before him, when death took away his protector. But what he considered as the greatest misfortune to himself, had the most happy consequences for his heirs. Gustavus Adolphus could permit *himself* to defer the restitution of Frederic's states, he could incumber *this* present with hard conditions. Oxenstiern, to whom the friendship of England, Holland, and Brandenburg, together with that of all the Protestant states, was of the highest importance, could not but follow the rules of severe justice. He therefore surrendered at this assembly at Heilbron, to the descendants of Frederic, the Palatine lands which were already conquered, as well as those which should become so, Manheim alone excepted, which, until the reimbursement of the expenses of the war, was to remain in the hands of the Swedes. The chancellor did not content himself with this act of generosity towards the Palatine House; he also gave, although later, to the other allied Imperial princes proofs of Sweden's gratitude, which, however, cost this crown but little expense. The duty of impartiality, the most sacred of the historian, obliges us here to make an avowal but little honourable to the defenders of the German liberty. Whatever display the Protestant princes made of the justice of their cause and the purity of their zeal, interest was for the most part the only motive of their conduct, and the desire of plundering had, at the least, as great a part in the recommencement of hostilities as the fear of being plundered.

Gustavus Adolphus soon discovered that he had more to promise himself from this impure source of their zeal than from their patriotic sentiments, and he neglected nothing to profit thereby. Each of the allied princes received from him either the promise of a possession con-

quered or to be conquered from the enemy, and death alone prevented him from performing this promise. What prudence recommended to the king, necessity made a law of to his successor; and, if it was important to Oxenstiern to prolong the war, he must necessarily permit the allied princes to partake of the booty, and make them perceive advantages in the confusion which he was desirous of exciting. Thus he promised to the Landgrave of Hesse the bishoprics of Paderborn, Corvey, Munster, and Fulda; to Duke Bernhard of Weimar those of Franconia; to the Duke of Wirtemberg the ecclesiastical properties and Austrian counties situated in his states; all under the name of fiefs of the crown of Sweden.

The chancellor himself was astonished at this strange and disgraceful conduct, which made the Germans appear upon the stage with so little honour, and he could hardly conceal his contempt. "Let it be recorded," cried he once, "in our archives, to preserve the eternal re-"membrance thereof, that a prince of the German em-"pire has made so dishonourable a request of a Swedish "nobleman, and that the Swedish nobleman granted it "it to a prince of the empire upon the German territory." After such excellent preparations, they could appear with honour in the field, and renew the war with fresh confidence. Soon after the victory at Lutzen, the troops of Saxony and Lunenburg had united themselves to the Swedish army, and the Imperialists were driven in a short time from Saxony. The combined army now divided. The Saxons went towards Lusatia and Silesia, to act, in concert with Count Thurn, against the Austrians. A part of the Swedish army was led by the Duke of Bernhard to Franconia, and another by George, Duke of Brunswick, to Westphalia and Lower Saxony.

Gustavus Adolphus, upon undertaking his expedition to Saxony, had confided to the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld, and to the Swedish general Banner, the care of defending his conquests on the Lech and the Danube against the Bavarians.

But, too weak to arrest the victorious progress of the Bavarians, who were supported by the experience and the bravery of the emperor's general, Altringer, they were obliged to call to their succour the Swedish general, Horn, from Alsace. After this experienced chief had subjugated the towns of Benfeld, Schlettstadt, Colmar, and Hagenau, to the Swedish power, he surrendered to the Rhingrave Otto Louis the defence of his conquests, and hastened over the Rhine to re-enforce Banner's army. But, although this now consisted of sixteen thousand men, it could not prevent the enemy from establishing himself upon the frontiers of Suabia, making the conquest of Kempten, and being joined by seven regiments from Bohemia. To defend the important banks of the Lech and the Danube, they were obliged to expose Alsace, where the Rhingrave Otto Louis, after the departure of Gustavus Horn, could with difficulty defend himself against the enraged peasantry. He must now re-enforce the army of the Danube with his troops; and, as this succour was yet insufficient, Duke Bernhard of Weimar was urged to turn his arms towards this quarter. Soon after the opening of the campaign in the year 1633, Duke Bernhard had obtained possession of the town and bishopric of Bamberg, and threatened Wurtzburg with the same fate. Upon the invitation of Gustavus Horn, he immediately marched towards the Danube, beat a Bavarian army commanded by John of Werth on his way, and effected his junction with the Swedes near Donauwerth. This numerous army,

commanded by the best generals, threatened Bavaria with a terrible irruption. The entire bishopric of Eichstadt was overrun, and a traitor promised to deliver the town of Ingolstadt into the hands of the Swedes. Altringer's activity was restrained by the express commands of the Duke of Friedland, and, not receiving any succours from Bohemia, he could not oppose himself to the progress of the enemy's army. The most favourable circumstances combined to make the Swedish arms in this quarter triumph, when suddenly a revolt among the officers put a stop to the activity of the army.

To the army they owed every thing that had been acquired in Germany; even the greatness of Gustavus Adolphus was its work, the fruit of its discipline, of its bravery, of its unshaken courage in endless perils and fatigues. With whatever wisdom his plans were formed in the cabinet, it was the army alone that finally executed them: the extensive projects of the chief increased their labour. All the great advantages in this war had been obtained by a truly-barbarous sacrifice of the soldiers' lives in winter campaigns, forced marches, storms, and pitched battles; and it was the maxim of Gustavus Adolphus never to renounce a victory, provided it cost him no more than men to obtain it. The soldier could not but be sensible of his own importance, and with justice he desired his share of the profit which had been gained by his blood. But for the most part they could hardly pay him his arrears; the avarice of some chiefs, or the necessity of the state, generally absorbed the best part of the sums raised by contributions and the conquered possessions. For all the labours which he undertook, they left him nothing but the uncertain chance of plunder or promotion, and too often he was deceived in both these expectations. Fear

and hope indeed, so long as Gustavus Adolphus lived, prevented every open complaint; but after his death the discontent broke out in a violent manner, and the soldier seized with eagerness the most dangerous moment to make them sensible of his importance. "Two officers, Pfuhl and Mitschefal, who had been considered during the king's life-time as restless characters, gave, in the camp upon the Danube, an example which was soon after followed by nearly all the officers of the army. They engaged by oath not to obey any order until the pay due for months and years should be received, and, besides this, until each of them should have received, either in money or lands, a recompense according to his services. "Enormous sums," said they, "were levied daily by "contributions, and all this money was kept in the hands "of a few individuals. They had been compelled to fight "in the severest weather without receiving even the re- "compense of thanks for their incessant toil. They ex- "claim against the disorders of the soldiers at Heilbron, "but their services are forgotten. The whole world re- "sounds with the noise of battles and sieges, and all "these successes have been obtained by their bravery." The number of the discontented increased every day; they even addressed seditious letters to the armies on the Rhine and in Saxony, which were fortunately intercepted.

Neither the representations of Bernhard of Weimar nor the severe reproaches of his colleague were capable of suppressing this mutiny; and the violence of this last only increased the insolence of the rebels. They insisted upon a certain number of towns being assigned to each regiment, upon which the necessary sums should be levied to satisfy the payment of their arrears.

A month was given to the Swedish chancellor to consider their demands; and, in case of refusal, they declared that they would pay themselves, and never more draw a sword for Sweden. These violent representations, made at a time that the military chest was exhausted, and when credit was fallen, must place the chancellor in the greatest embarrassment, and a remedy must be quickly found before this contagion spread among the rest of the troops; and they saw themselves in the midst of their enemies suddenly abandoned by all their armies. Among all the Swedish generals, there was only one who had consideration and influence enough among the soldiers to terminate this sedition. Duke Bernhard was the favourite of the army, and his prudent moderation had gained him the confidence of the soldiers, while his military talents commanded their admiration.

He now undertook to bring back to their duty this mutinous army; but, feeling his own importance, he resolved, before all, to seize the favourable moment for his own advantage, and to draw from the embarrassment of the Swedish chancellor a consent to all his demands. Gustavus Adolphus had promised him a dutchy in Franconia, which was to be formed from the bishoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburg; he now pressed for the performance of this promise. At the same time he required the chief command during the war, as Swedish Generalissimo. This abuse, which Duke Bernhard made of the extreme necessity which they had for his services, irritated Oxenstiern so much, that in the first movement of his indignation he threatened to deprive him of his situation in the Swedish army. Soon after, however, he considered better; and, rather than sacrifice so important a general, he resolved to bind him more closely than ever to the

interests of Sweden, at whatever cost. He therefore surrendered to him the bishoprics of Franconia as fiefs of the Swedish crown, yet with the reservation of the two fortresses of Wurtzburg and Kœnigshofen, which were to remain in the possession of the Swedes; at the same time he engaged, in the name of the crown of Sweden, to maintain him in the possession of his new states. The command which he required of the entire Swedish army was evaded under a convenient pretext. Duke Bernhard did not long delay to shew himself thankful for this important sacrifice in his favour; by his influence and activity he soon appeased the revolt in the army.—Large sums of money were distributed among the officers, and also larger distributions in lands, the value of which amounted to about five millions of dollars, and to which they had no other right than that of conquest. In the mean time the favourable moment was lost for a great undertaking, and the united chiefs separated, to resist the attacks of the enemy in other quarters. After Gustavus Horn had made a short inroad into the Upper Palatinate, and obtained possession of Newmark, he directed his march towards the frontiers of Suabia, where the Imperialists had in the mean time considerably re-enforced themselves, and threatened seriously to ravage Wirtemberg. Alarmed at his approach, the Imperialists retired towards the Lake of Constance; but their retreat only served to attract the Swedes towards those happy countries where they had not yet penetrated.

A possession at the entrance of Switzerland was of the uttermost importance to the Swedes, and the town of Constance seemed peculiarly adapted to establish their alliance with the Cantons.

Gustavus Horn therefore immediately undertook the

siege of it; but, destitute of artillery, which must first be brought from Wirtemberg, he could not carry his undertaking quickly enough into effect, not to give the enemy time to come to the relief of this town, which, besides, by means of the Lake received every thing that it had occasion for. He therefore, after an ineffectual attempt, abandoned the town and its territory to face a more pressing danger upon the banks of the Danube. The Cardinal Infant, brother of Philip IV. King of Spain and Governor of Milan, had, at the emperor's instigation, raised an army of fourteen thousand men, which was destined, independent of Wallenstein, to act upon the Rhine and defend Alsace. This army now appeared in Bavaria, under the command of the Duke of Feria, a Spaniard; and Altringer received orders to unite himself to it immediately, to act without delay against the Swedes.

Gustavus Horn had directly upon the first intelligence of their approach recalled the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld, who was then upon the Rhine, to his assistance, and, after he had joined him at Stockach, marched boldly against an enemy thirty thousand strong. The latter had passed over the Danube towards Suabia, where Gustavus Horn at one time was so close to them that both armies were not more than half a mile from each other. But, instead of accepting the offer of a battle, the Imperialists retired through the Black Forest towards Brisgau and Alsace, where they arrived in sufficient time to relieve Brisach, and to stop the victorious career of the Rhingrave Otto Louis.

This prince had a short time before conquered the forest towns, and, supported by the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld, who had delivered the Lower Palatinate and beaten the Duke of Lorraine, obtained for the Swedish arms once

more their former superiority in that quarter. He must, at present, retire before a superior enemy; but Horn and Birkenfeld hastened to his assistance, and, after a short triumph, the Imperialists were again driven out of Alsace. The severity of the autumn, during this unfortunate retreat, caused the greatest part of the Italians to perish, and their chief himself, the Duke of Feria, died of grief upon the failure of the enterprise. Meanwhile Bernhard, Duke of Weimar, at the head of eight regiments of infantry, and a hundred and forty squadrons of cavalry, had taken up his position upon the Danube, by this means to cover Franconia, and to observe the movements of the Imperial Bavarian army upon that river.

Altringer had hardly abandoned these frontiers to unite himself with the Italian troops commanded by the Duke of Feria, than Bernhard, profiting of his absence, hastily crossed the Danube, and suddenly appeared before Ratisbon. The occupation of this town was of the highest importance to the Swedes in their undertakings against Bavaria and Austria; it established them upon the Danube, secured them a retreat in case of misfortunes, and its possession alone would place them in a situation for making durable conquests in this country. To save Ratisbon had been the last urgent advice which Tilly, when dying, had given to the Elector of Bavaria; and Gustavus Adolphus always regarded it as an irreparable loss that he had permitted the Bavarians to obtain the occupation of this place. Maximilian's consternation was excessive when Duke Bernhard appeared before this town, and earnestly prepared to besiege it. The garrison consisted of only fifteen companies of foot, the greatest part newly-raised troops, a more than sufficient number, however, to have opposed a superior enemy, if they had been supported by warlike

and well-disposed inhabitants. But, on the contrary, these were the most dangerous enemies that the Bavarian garrison had to fear.

The Protestants of Ratisbon, equally jealous of their religious and civil rights, had submitted with great reluctance to the Bavarian yoke, and for a long time looked forward with impatience for a deliverer. Duke Bernhard's arrival before their walls filled them with the sincerest joy, and it was greatly to be feared that they would second the enterprise of the besiegers by an interior tumult. In this great difficulty the elector wrote in the most pressing terms to the Emperor and the Duke of Friedland to assist him with even five thousand men. Seven messengers successively were sent by Ferdinand to Wallenstein, who promised the quickest succour, and even announced to the Elector, by Gallas, the near approach of twelve thousand men; but he forbade this general, under pain of death, to march. In the mean while the Bavarian commander at Ratisbon, in the expectation of being speedily relieved, had made the best preparations for defence; he had armed the Catholic peasantry, and disarmed the Protestant inhabitants, and besides watched most carefully that they should not make any dangerous attempt against the garrison. But as no relief appeared, and the enemy's artillery incessantly cannonaded the fortifications of the town, he made an honourable capitulation for himself and the garrison, and left the Bavarian functionaries and ecclesiastics to the mercy of the conqueror.

Duke Bernhard's plans expanded with the occupation of Ratisbon, and Bavaria itself no longer presented a field sufficiently large for his bold projects. He would press on even to the Austrian frontiers, arm against the emperor all the Protestant peasantry, and restore to them their

liberty of religion. He had already taken Straubingen, while another Swedish general subjected the northern bank of the Danube. Notwithstanding the severity of the season, he arrived, at the head of his Swedes, at the mouth of the Iser, and made his troops cross this river in the presence of the Bavarian General Werth, who was encamped in this place. Passau and Lintz now trembled, and the embarrassed emperor redoubled his solicitations and commands to Wallenstein to hasten with the greatest speed to the assistance of the distressed Bavarians. But here the victorious Bernhard voluntarily put an end to his conquests. He had the river Inn in front of him, defended by a great number of strong castles, and behind, two enemies' armies, a country ill disposed, and the river Iser, upon which no tenable position covered his rear: the frost permitted no intrenchments. Threatened by Wallenstein's entire army, which had at length decided to move towards the Danube, he, by a timely retreat, withdrew himself from the danger of seeing his communications with Ratisbon entirely cut off, and himself surrounded by the enemy. He hastened over the Iser and the Danube to defend the conquests made in the Upper Palatinate against Wallenstein, determined even not to refuse a battle with this general. But Wallenstein, who had never the intention of attempting any thing important upon the Danube, did not wait for his approach, and before the Bavarians had had time to congratulate themselves upon his arrival, he had returned into Bohemia.

Bernhard therefore now terminated his glorious campaign, and granted his troops the repose which they had so well merited, in winter quarters upon the enemy's territory. While Gustavus Horn in Suabia, the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld, General Baudissen, the Rhingrave

Otto Louis, upon the Upper and Lower Rhine; and the Duke of Bernhard upon the Danube, made war with such superiority, the Duke of Lunenburg and Landgrave of Hesse Cassel did not sustain in a less glorious manner the renown of the Swedish arms in Westphalia and Lower Saxony. Duke George conquered the fortress of Hameln after the bravest resistance, and the united Swedish and Hessian army obtained, near to Olendorp, a signal victory over the Imperial General Gronsfeld, who commanded upon the Rhine. Count Wasaburg, a natural son of Gustavus Adolphus, shewed in this battle that he was worthy of the blood from which he sprang. Sixteen cannon, the whole baggage of the Imperialists, and seventy-four colours, fell into the hands of the Swedes; about three thousand of the enemy remained dead upon the field, and almost an equal number were made prisoners. The Swedish Colonel Knyphausen forced Osnabruck to capitulate, and the Landgrave of Hesse compelled Paderborne to do the same: however Buckeburg, a very important place for the Swedes, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The Swedish arms were seen victorious in almost all parts of Germany, and, in a year after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, no trace was to be perceived of the loss which had been sustained in the person of this great hero.

By a review of the important events which distinguished the campaign of 1633, the inactivity of a man who raised by far the highest expectations must awaken in us a just astonishment. Of all the generals who distinguished themselves in this campaign, there was none who equalled Wallenstein in experience, talents, and military reputation, and yet he disappears all at once from our view after the battle of Lutzen. The death of his great

adversary now left the entire field of glory open to him alone. The entire attention of Europe was directed to the exploits which should efface the remembrance of his defeat, and announce to the world his superiority in the art of war. And, notwithstanding this, he remained quietly in Bohemia, while the losses of the emperor in Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and the Rhine, urgently demanded his presence, a secret equally impenetrable to friend and enemy, the dread of the emperor, and yet, at the same time, his last hope. After the lost battle at Lutzen, he had withdrawn with unaccountable rapidity into the kingdom of Bohemia, where he had caused the strongest examination to be made into the conduct of his officers in that battle. Such as the council of war declared guilty, were with inexorable severity sentenced to death; those who had distinguished themselves by their bravery, received from him kingly recompenses; and the remembrance of those who had fallen in the field of battle was immortalized by splendid monuments. During the whole winter, he oppressed the Imperial provinces with enormous contributions and by winter-quarters, which he intentionally would not take up in the enemy's country, in order to exhaust the resources of Austria.

Instead of hastening to open the campaign in the spring of 1633, and presenting himself the first with his chosen and well-prepared army in all the splendour of his command, he was the last to appear in the field, and he now made one of the emperor's provinces the theatre of the war. Of all the Austrian possessions, Silesia was exposed to the greatest danger. Three different armies, a Swedish under the command of Count Thurn, a Saxon under Arnheim and the Duke of Lauenburg, together with one of Brandenburg under Borgsdorf, had, at the same time,

attacked this province. They had already taken possession of the most important places, and even Breslau had declared itself in favour of the allies. But it was this very crowd of generals and armies which preserved this country to the emperor, as the jealousy of the generals, and the violent hatred which divided the Saxons and the Swedes, never permitted them to have the least concert in their operations. Arnheim and Thurn quarrelled with each other for the supreme command; the Brandenburgers and the Saxons held zealously together against the Swedes, whom they regarded as troublesome strangers, and whose power they sought on all occasions to curtail. The Saxons and Imperialists, on the contrary, lived familiarly together; the officers of both armies often visited, and entertained each other. They openly allowed the Imperialists to remove their property, and many of these Saxon allies made no scruple of declaring that they had received large sums from Vienna.

The Swedes, surrounded by such doubtful allies, saw themselves sold and betrayed; and, with such a bad understanding, it was impossible for them to think of executing any thing important. Besides, General Arnheim was absent the greater part of the time; and, when he returned to the army, Wallenstein already approached the frontiers with a formidable force. He advanced at the head of forty thousand men, and the allies had no more than twenty-four thousand to oppose him. Nevertheless they sought for a battle, and appeared at Munsterburg, where Wallenstein had an intrenched camp, but he remained eight days without making the least movement; he then left his intrenchments to defile slowly and haughtily before the enemy. After the breaking up of his camp, the latter, emboldened, constantly harrassed him during

his march, and Wallenstein refused to fight. The care which he took to avoid a battle was attributed to fear; but Wallenstein's military reputation, long since established, had nothing to apprehend from such a suspicion. The vanity of the allies did not permit them to see that he sported with them, and that, if he was at this time inclined to spare them a defeat, it was only because he had no fruit to reap from a victory. To convince them, however, that he was yet their superior, and that his inaction did not proceed from a dread of their strength, he caused the commander of a castle who fell into his hands to be executed, because he had not immediately surrendered a place which was untenable. Both armies were in presence of each other for nine days, at the distance of a musket shot, when Count Terzky, an officer of Wallenstein's army, appeared with a trumpeter before the allied camp, to invite General Arnheim to a conference. The purport of which was, that Wallenstein, although at the head of superior forces, proposed an armistice for six weeks. "The Duke of Friedland was come," he said to them, "to conclude a solid and lasting peace with the "Swedes and the princes of the empire, to pay the "troops, and give satisfaction to all. All this was in the "duke's power; and, if the ratification of these propo- "sitions experienced any difficulty at Vienna, he would "then join the allies," and (as he privately intimated to "Arnheim) depose the emperor without ceremony."

At a second conference which Wallenstein had with Count Thurn, he explained himself still more fully. "All "the privileges, he declared, must be confirmed anew, "the Bohemian exiles recalled and reinstated in their "property, and he himself would be the first to restore "his share of the confiscations. The Jesuits, as the au-

"thors of all the disturbances and oppressions which had "happened till now, should be banished. The crown of "Sweden should be indemnified by payments at stated "periods, and all the troops which could be spared on both "sides should be led against the Turks." The last point explained the whole mystery. "If he should obtain the "crown of Bohemia, the proscribed would have to "congratulate themselves upon his generosity; a perfect "toleration of religion should prevail in the kingdom, the "Palatine House should recover its ancient rights, "and the Margraviate of Moravia should indemnify him "for the dutchy of Mechlenburg. He would then place "himself at the head of the allied army, march to Vienna, "and extort by force of arms the emperor's consent to "this treaty."

The plan which he had been meditating in profound silence for so many years was therefore now discovered. All circumstances announced that he would lose no time in carrying it into execution. Only a blind confidence in the good fortune, in the superior genius, of the Duke of Friedland, had been able to determine the emperor, notwithstanding the representations of Bavaria and Spain, and at the expense of his own authority, to confer upon this imperious man such an unlimited command. But the long inactivity of Wallenstein had shook this belief in the invincibility attached to his name; and, since the unfortunate defeat at Lutzen, his reputation was almost entirely fallen. His enemies revived at the Court of Ferdinand, and the discontent of the emperor upon the failure of his hopes, gained their representations the wished-for reception with this monarch. The whole conduct of the duke was criticised in the severest manner; his dangerous haughtiness, his continual disobedience to the emperor's

orders, were brought to the remembrance of this jealous prince. The complaints of the Imperial subjects upon his boundless oppressions called for redress; they raised doubts as to his fidelity, and dangerous hints were thrown out as to his secret designs. These accusations, which were too well supported by the duke's whole conduct, could not fail to have their effect on the mind of Ferdinand; but the step was now taken, and the great power which had been conferred on the Duke, he could not be deprived of without the most serious danger. All that remained for the emperor was, gradually to diminish this power, and to succeed it must be divided, but, above all things, they must render themselves independent of the duke. But how was this to be attained? They had positively given up this right in the treaty concluded with him, and the emperor's own signature forbade any attempt which should have for its object to give him a colleague, or destroy his influence over the troops. As they were not inclined to execute this pernicious treaty, and as they could not annihilate it, recourse must be had to stratagem. Wallenstein was the emperor's commander-in-chief in Germany; but his command extended no further, and he could not arrogate to himself any authority over foreign troops. They then caused a Spanish army to be raised in Milan, and made it combat in Germany under the orders of a Spanish general. Wallenstein was therefore no longer indispensable, since he has ceased to be the only general, and, in case of necessity, they have even a support against him. The duke quickly felt, and deeply, from whence this blow came. It was in vain that he protested with the Cardinal Infant against an innovation which destroyed his treaty: the Italian army entered Germany, and they obliged him to send General Altringer

to re-enforce it. In truth, the severe instructions which he gave to this general so completely restricted his operations, that the Italian army reaped little honour in the campaign which it made with him in Suabia and Alsace, but this arbitrary step of the court of Vienna alarmed Wallenstein for his own security, and warned him of the approaching danger with which he was threatened. Not to lose his command the second time, and with it the fruits of all his labours, he must hasten the execution of his plan. He assured himself of the fidelity of his troops, by dismissing the suspicious officers, and by his munificence to the rest. The different classes of citizens, humanity and justice, had all been sacrificed to the happiness of the army by Wallenstein; he had therefore a right to reckon upon the gratitude of the latter. Although he was upon the point of giving an unparalleled instance of ingratitude himself towards the author of his own fortune, he yet founded his entire projects of grandeur upon the gratitude which he expected of others. The chiefs of the Silesian armies had not received from their sovereigns any authority to treat of interests so important as those which made the object of Wallenstein's propositions, and they did not even dare consent to an armistice for longer than a fortnight. Before the duke opened himself to the Swedes and the Saxons as to his projects, he thought proper to assure himself of the support of France in his bold enterprise. To this end he had sent Count Kinsky to Feuquieres, the ambassador of this court at Dresden, to enter into secret negociations, although with great caution on his side, which terminated to his entire satisfaction.

Feuquieres received orders from his court to promise Wallenstein every support on the part of France, and

even succours in money, if the duke had occasion for the same. But it was this extreme caution to secure himself on all sides which led to his destruction. The French plenipotentiary discovered with great astonishment that a plan, which more than any other ought to have remained secret, had been communicated to the Swedes and Saxons. The Saxon ministry, as was universally known, was in the interest of the emperor; and the conditions proposed to the Swedes were too short of their expectations to incline them to give their assistance. Feuquieres then found it inconceivable how the duke could seriously reckon upon the support of the former or the discretion of the latter. He discovered his doubts and fears to the Swedish chancellor, who was equally mistrustful of Wallenstein's intentions, and liked still less his propositions. Although the chancellor was not ignorant that the duke had formerly entered into a similar negociation with Gustavus Adolphus, yet he did not conceive the possibility of his bringing the whole army to revolt, and of keeping the vast promises which he had made. So extravagant a plan, such inconsiderate conduct, did not appear to agree with the close and mistrustful mind of the duke; it was rather more natural to see in all these attempts nothing but a profound artifice, because it was rather permitted to doubt his good faith than his prudence. These doubts, these suspicions, of Oxenstiern's at length passed into the mind of Arnheim, who in the full confidence of Wallenstein's sincerity had come to Gelnhausen to engage the chancellor to confide his best regiments to the duke. They began to suspect that the entire proposition was only an artfully-prepared snare to disarm the allies, and cause their choicest troops to fall into the hands of the emperor. Wallenstein's well-

known character did not destroy this bad suspicion, and the contradictions into which he fell in the sequel rendered his conduct entirely inexplicable. While he sought to draw the Swedes into his alliance, and even demanded their best troops, he declared to Arnheim that he must commence by expelling them from Germany; and, while Saxon officers who confided in the armistice repaired to him in great numbers, he made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain possession of their persons. He first broke the armistice, which, not without the greatest trouble, he renewed some months afterwards. All confidence in his veracity vanished, and they at length saw nothing in his whole conduct but a tissue of deceit and low artifices to enfeeble the allies and strengthen himself. This last end he indeed actually attained, and his forces were seen to increase daily, while those of the allies diminished to one-half by desertion and bad management. But he did not profit of his superiority as was expected in Vienna. When an important event was near, he suddenly renewed negociations; whenever a cessation of arms placed the allies in security, then he suddenly recommenced hostilities. All these contradictions had for their cause the inconsistent project which he had formed of destroying at the same time both the Swedes and the emperor, and to make a separate peace with Saxony. Impatient at the ill success of his negociation, he at last determined to employ all his forces, as the pressing necessity of the empire, and the extreme discontent of the court of Vienna, did not permit him to delay any longer. Even before the last armistice, General Holk, who was in Bohemia, made an irruption into the circle of Meissen, put to sword all, and set fire to every thing, that opposed him upon his pas-

sage, drove the elector to his fortresses, and even took the town of Leipzig. But the suspension of arms concluded in Silesia put a term to his ravages, and he died at Adorf in consequence of his intemperance.

At the expiration of this cessation of arms, Wallenstein made a new movement, as if he would penetrate through Lusatia into Saxony, and he spread the report that Piccolomini had already marched there. Arnheim immediately quitted his camp in Silesia to follow Piccolomini, and to hasten to the succour of the elector. But through this movement the Swedish camp was exposed, which was weak in numbers near Steinau upon the Oder, under the orders of Count Thurn; and this was precisely what the duke had wished for. He allowed the Saxon general to advance sixteen miles into the territory of Meissen, and then suddenly made a retrogade movement towards the Oder, where he surprised the Swedish army in the utmost security. General Schafgotsh, whom he had dispatched in advance, beat their cavalry, and their infantry was soon completely surrounded by the rest of the duke's army near Steinau.

Wallenstein gave Count Thurn half an hour to determine if he would defend himself with two thousand five hundred men against an army of more than twenty thousand, or if he would surrender at discretion. In such a situation there was no choice: the whole army surrendered prisoners, and the most complete triumph was obtained without bloodshed. Colours, baggage, and cannon, fell into the conqueror's hands, the officers were placed under arrest, the soldiers were compelled to serve. And now at length, after having wandered about fourteen years, after having experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune, the author of the whole Bohemian revolt, the

famous Count Thurn, is in the power of his enemies. They expected in Vienna with barbarous blood-thirsty impatience the arrival of this great criminal, and already enjoyed the frightful triumph of offering up to justice her principle sacrifice.

But to deprive the Jesuits of this delight was a much sweeter triumph, and Thurn was set at liberty. It was fortunate for him that he knew more than it was fit they should be acquainted with in Vienna, and that Wallenstein's enemies were his likewise. The court of Vienna would have pardoned Wallenstein a defeat; they never pardoned *him* for having disappointed them of their victim. "What could I have done with this madman?" he wrote with insulting mockery to the ministers who reproached him with this ill-timed magnanimity; "would to heaven "the enemy had no other generals than such as this!— "He will render us much better service at the head of "the Swedish army than in prison." The victory at Steinau was soon followed by the taking of Liegnitz, Gross-Glogau, and even of Frankfort on the Oder. Schafgotsch, who had remained in Silesia to finish the conquest of this province, blockaded Brieg, and even pressed Breslau, but in vain, because this free town watched over *its* privileges, and remained devoted to the Swedes. Wallenstein, with the intention of penetrating into Pomerania, and to the coasts of the Baltic Sea, detached Colonels Illo and Goetz to the Warta, who actually took Landsberg, the key of Pomerania. While the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pomerania trembled for their dominions, Wallenstein at the head of the remainder of his army entered Lusatia, where he carried Goerlitz by storm, and forced Bautzen to surrender. But his project was only to terrify the Elector of Saxony, not

to improve his advantages, and with the sword in hand he renewed his propositions of peace to the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, but with no better success, as he had destroyed all confidence in him by a series of contradictory actions. He would now have fallen with all his forces upon unfortunate Saxony, and have attained his aim at last by the power of arms, if the necessity of circumstances had not obliged him to abandon this country.

The victory of Duke Bernhard on the Danube, which exposed Austria herself to the greatest dangers, called him urgently to Bavaria, and the expulsion of the Saxons and Swedes from Silesia deprived him of every pretext for still resisting the emperor's orders, and leaving the Elector of Bavaria unassisted. He therefore marched with his main army towards the Upper Palatinate, and his retreat freed Upper Saxony for ever from this terrible enemy.

Wallenstein had delayed to aid Bavaria as long as it was possible, and eluded the emperor's orders by all manner of subterfuges. At length, after repeated requests, he sent some regiments from Bohemia to the succour of Count Altringer, who endeavoured to maintain himself on the Lech and the Danube against Horn and Bernhard; but upon the express condition of remaining merely on the defensive. Whenever the emperor and the Elector of Bavaria implored him for succour, he referred them to Altringer, who, as he openly pretended, had received an unlimited power from him; but secret and severe instructions on his part restrained this general, and even threatened him with death if he exceeded his orders.

After Duke Bernhard had advanced as far as the walls

of Ratisbon, and the emperor as well as the elector had renewed their demands in the most pressing manner for him to go to the succour of this place, he pretended as if he would send General Gallas with a considerable force upon the Danube; he however did nothing, and Ratisbon, Straubingen, and Cham, fell into the power of the Swedes, as the bisbopric of Eichstadt had done before. As he could at length no longer avoid obeying the most earnest commands of the court, he advanced slowly towards the frontiers of Bavaria, where he invested the town of Cham, of which the Swedes had taken possession. But he had hardly heard that the Swedes were about to send the Saxons into Bohemia to make a diversion, than, profiting of this report, he returned in the quickest manner towards Bohemia, without executing any thing whatever. Above all, he gave out that the defence and the preservation of the emperor's hereditary states must have the preference, and thus he remained in Bohemia, chained as it were, and protected this kingdom as if it had been already his own property.

The emperor exhorted him in a more pressing manner than ever to march towards the Danube, to prevent the dangerous establishment of the Duke of Bernhard upon the Austrian frontiers. He, however, terminated the campaign for this year, and again chose Bohemia, that entirely exhausted kingdom, for the winter quarters of his troops. This continued insolence, this unprecedented contempt of all the emperor's orders, this determined indifference to the public good; so many motives, joined to a conduct extremely equivocal against the enemy, could not but at length create a belief in the mind of the emperor of the prejudicial reports against him, which had already been spread throughout Germany. This general

had succeeded for a long time in giving plausible and legitimate pretexts to the guilty negociations which he entertained with the enemy; he had persuaded this monarch, always ready to excuse him, that the aim of his secret conferences was nothing else than the peace of Germany. But, however impenetrable he thought himself, the whole of his behaviour justified but too much the accusations which his opponents unceasingly poured into the ears of the emperor. Ferdinand, disposed to ascertain how far these reports were well-grounded, had sent, at different periods, spies into Wallenstein's camp; but the duke, too prudent to allow any thing to escape him by writing which could compromise him, they only brought back mere conjectures.

But when at length the ministers themselves, who had been until now his ardent defenders at the court of Vienna, and whose property he oppressed with equal burdens, had taken the side of his enemies; when the Elector of Bavaria threatened to reconcile himself with Sweden if this general was retained any longer; when at last likewise the Spanish ambassador insisted upon his removal, and threatened, in case of refusal, that his crown would withdraw its subsidies; then the emperor saw himself necessitated for the second time to remove him from the command.

The absolute and immediate orders addressed to the army soon taught the duke that the agreement made with him no longer existed, and that his dismission was inevitable. One of his generals who was in Austria, and whom Wallenstein had forbidden, under pain of death, to obey the court, received from the emperor an immediate order to join the Elector of Bavaria's troops, and Wallenstein himself was expressly ordered to send some regi-

ments to re-enforce the Cardinal Infant, who was marching from Italy with an army. All these preparations convinced him that the plan was irrevocably formed to disarm him by degrees, in order the better to overthrow him. He must now, for his own self-defence, hasten a plan which had only been conceived at first for the purpose of aggrandizing his power. He had delayed the execution of it longer than prudence counselled; but the constellations always failed to favour him; or, as he himself used to say to his friends, impatient of his delay, "the time was not yet come." The time was even now not yet arrived; but urgent necessity did not permit him to wait any longer for the favour of the stars. First of all he must assure himself of the principal chiefs, and also sound the disposition of an army which he had always supposed generously devoted to his interests. Three of these chiefs, Colonels Kinsky, Terzky, and Illo, had been for a long time let into the secret, and the two first were even attached to his interests by the ties of blood. A similar ambition, an equal hatred against the government, the hope of enormous rewards, closely united them to Wallenstein, who, on his part, had never disdained the lowest means to augment the number of his partisans. He had once persuaded Colonel Illo to go to Vienna, to solicit the title of count, and promised to support him there with all his credit; he, however, wrote secretly to the ministers to refuse him his request, because a crowd of other officers, who had equal merit, would not fail to come forward to claim similar rewards. When Illo returned to the army, Wallenstein's first care was to ask him the result of his solicitation: and, when the duke heard from him that he had not had any success, he broke out into violent and bitter complaints against the court.

"Have our faithful services deserved this?" said he; "that my recommendation should be so little esteemed, "and your merit refused so inconsiderable a recompense! "Who would any longer consecrate his services to so "ungrateful a master? No, whatever happens, I am "from this moment the sworn enemy of the House of "Austria!" Illo assented to this, and thus a close union was formed between them. But what was known to these three confidents of the duke remained a long time an impenetrable secret to the rest of the army, and the confidence with which Wallenstein spoke of the devotion of his officers, was only founded upon the favours he had bestowed upon them, and upon their discontent with the court. But this vague presumption must give way to the best established certainty, before he threw off his mask, and permitted himself to act openly against the emperor. Count Piccolomini, the same who had combated with so much glory at Lutzen, was the first whose fidelity he put to the proof. He had attached this general to himself by great presents, and he gave him the preference of all the others, because Piccolomini was born under the same constellation as himself. The duke then declared to him, that, forced by the ingratitude of the emperor and the approaching danger, he had irrevocably decided to abandon the House of Austria, and pass over with the best part of his army to the enemy; and pursue the Austrian House in all quarters subject to its dominion, until it was entirely destroyed. It was principally upon Piccolomini that he reckoned for the execution of his project, and the most brilliant recompenses had already been designed for him.

As Piccolomini, to conceal the extreme surprise that so unexpected a proposition caused him, spoke to him of

the obstacles and dangers inseparable from such a hazardous undertaking, Wallenstein ridiculed his fears. "In "such enterprises," said he, "the beginning only is difficult; the stars are propitious to me, the opportunity "such as could be desired, and something must be trusted to fortune." "His resolution was unshaken, and, "if he could not do otherwise, he would hazard the execution of it at the head of a thousand horse."

Piccolomini took great care not to excite the duke's mistrust by further objections, and yielded with apparent conviction to the weight of his arguments. The duke's blindness was so great, that, notwithstanding all Terzky's warnings, it did not once come into his mind to doubt the sincerity of this man, who lost not an instant in instructing the court of Vienna of this important discovery.

At last Wallenstein, in order to take a decided step, assembled, in the month of January, 1634, all the commanders of the army at Pilsen, where he had withdrawn himself immediately after his retreat from Bavaria. The emperor's last orders, not to take up winter quarters in the hereditary states, to retake Ratisbon in the middle of winter, and to re-enforce the army of the Cardinal Infant with six thousand cavalry, were points sufficiently important for the discussion of a council of war; and this apparent pretext concealed the true aim of the meeting.

Sweden and Saxony were also secretly invited thereto, in order to treat of peace with the Duke of Friedland; and a correspondence with the chiefs of the distant armies was to be carried on. Twenty of the commanders who were summoned appeared; but the most important ones, Gallas, Colloredo, and Altringer, were absent. The duke repeated his invitations to them to come; and,

in the mean time, in expectation of their approaching arrival, proceeded to the important point. The enterprise which he now undertook was by no means an easy one, to induce a nobility, high-minded, brave, and jealous of their honour, to commit the most shameful act of infidelity and treason, and, all at once, to appear himself as a rebel, base wretch, and seducer, in the eyes of those who had hitherto ever been accustomed to honour him as the representative of Imperial majesty, the preserver of the laws, and the judge of their actions. It was not less difficult to shake to its foundation a power consolidated by time, consecrated by religion and the laws; to destroy all these charms of the imagination and the senses, formidable guardians of a legal throne; to extirpate all those sentiments which duty has so deeply engraven in the bosom of subjects towards their native sovereign. But, dazzled by the splendour of a crown, Wallenstein beheld not the abyss which was opening under his feet; and, too full of confidence in his own strength, he regarded not the obstacles which were opposed to his project,—the common fate of all firm and bold minds. He saw nothing but an army indifferent to the court or exasperated against it, only an army habituated to honour his power with a blind submission, to tremble before him as before its legislator and judge, to execute his orders with fear and respect as the decrees of fate. He thought he perceived the true sentiments of the army in the excessive flatteries with which they paid homage to his power, in the gross insults which an unlicensed soldiery permitted itself towards the court and the government, and which the wild licentiousness of the camp excuses, and the boldness with which they dared to criticise the actions of the monarch appeared in his eyes the surest guarantee

of the readiness of the troops to forget their duty towards so contemptible a sovereign.

However, what he himself had thought so easy met with the most formidable opposition; all his hopes failed before the sense which the troops retained of their allegiance.

Intoxicated by the unlimited power which he exercised over these undisciplined bands, Wallenstein attributed all to his personal greatness, without making a proper difference between himself and the dignity of the station which he filled. All trembled before him, because he exercised a *legitimate* authority, because obedience towards him was a duty, because his authority emanated from the majesty of the throne. Grandeur of itself may excite admiration and inspire fear, but legal grandeur can alone command reverence and submission; and this decided advantage he lost the instant he discovered himself as a criminal.

The Fieldmarshal Illo undertook to sound the dispositions of the commanders, and prepare them for the step which was meditating. He began by exposing the new demands which the court made to the general and the army, and by the odious turn, which he well knew how to give them, it was easy to inflame the indignation of the whole assembly.

After this well-chosen commencement, he expatiated with much eloquence upon the services of the army and the general, and upon the emperor's ingratitude. "Spanish influence," said he, "directs all the steps of the "court; the ministry is in the pay of Spain: the Duke of "Friedland has alone resisted until now so much tyrrany, "and his firmness has drawn upon him, on the part of "the Spaniards, an implacable hatred. To take the

"command from him, or to accomplish his death, had "been," added he, "a long time the most ardent object "of their desires, and, till they should effect the one or "the other, they sought to undermine his power in the "field. The command was to be given to the King of "Hungary for no other reason than that this prince, the "ready instrument of a foreign power, might appear at "the head of armies in the field, the better to confirm the "Spanish power in Germany. It was merely to weaken "the army that they required six thousand men to be sent "to the cardinal infant; it was merely to exhaust him by "a winter campaign that they insisted so much upon the "taking of Ratisbon in so rigorous a season. The army "was deprived of all means of subsistence while the Je- "suits and the Ministers enriched themselves at the ex- "pense of the provinces, and squandered the money "which was intended for the troops. The general ac- "knowledged his inability to keep his promises to the "army, because the court abandoned him. For all the "services which he had rendered to the House of Austria "for twenty-two years, for all the pains which he had ta- "ken, for all the fortune which he had sacrificed to pro- "mote the Imperial service, he was threatened with a se- "cond disgraceful dismission. But the duke declared "that he was not disposed to wait for that; he would of "his own accord give up the command, before he was "forcibly deprived of it. This," continued the orator, "is what he has desired me to announce to the chiefs of "the army. Let every one now ask himself if it would "be prudent to lose such a general. Let each person "consider who is to return him the sums which he has "expended in the emperor's service, and where he can "reap the deserved reward of his valour, when he,

"under whose eyes it has been displayed, is no "more." A general cry that they would not allow the general to withdraw interrupted the orator. Four of the principal chiefs were chosen to carry to Wallenstein the desires of the meeting, and earnestly to request he would not abandon the army. The duke, in appearance, refused, and only yielded after a second deputation. This condescension upon his side appeared to merit a return on their part. As he engaged not to quit the service without the consent of the chiefs, he required from them a written promise to be faithful to him, never to separate from him, nor suffer themselves to be separated, and to defend him to the last drop of their blood. Whoever violated the engagement should be considered as a traitor, infamous, and treated by the others as a common enemy. The annexed express condition, "*So long as Wallenstein should employ the army* "*for the service of the emperor*," removed every doubt, and none of the chiefs assembled made any difficulty to give his full approbation to a demand which appeared to be so innocent and reasonable. The reading of this instrument took place immediately before an entertainment which Fieldmarshal Illo had prepared expressly for this purpose, and it was intended to be signed on rising from the table.

The host did his utmost by powerful beverages to throw his guests off their guard, and it was not till the fumes of the wine began to intoxicate them that he produced the paper for signature. Most of them inconsiderately wrote their names, without knowing what they signed; only a few, who were more curious or mistrustful than the rest, read the paper over a second time, and discovered with astonishment that the clause—"So long as Wallenstein should

employ the army for the service of the emperor," had been omitted. Illo had most artfully exchanged the first paper for another, in which the clause was wanting. The deceit was manifest, and many now refused to sign their names. Piccolomini, who saw through the whole fraud, and who had only taken part in this scene to render an account thereof to the court, forgot himself so much in his intoxication as to drink the emperor's health. But Count Terzky now rose, and declared all were perjured villains who should recede from their premise. His threats, and the idea of inevitable danger to which a longer refusal exposed those who might resist, the example of the majority, and Illo's oratory, at length overcame every scruple, and the paper was signed without exception. Wallenstein had now indeed attained his aim; but the very unexpected resistance which he experienced on the part of the chiefs at once aroused him from the favourite presumption in which he had hitherto indulged himself. Besides, the greater part had scrawled so illegibly their names, that it was impossible not to suspect their intentions. But, instead of seeing in this a warning which fate seemed to give him for reflection, his irritated sensibility broke out in bitter complaints and imprecations. He assembled the chiefs the next morning, and undertook to repeat to them himself all the discourse which Illo had urged the preceding day. After having exhausted all his indignation against the court by the most violent abuses, he reminded them of the opposition which they had shewn the day before, and declared that this discovery had determined him to retract his promise. Confounded and surprised, the chiefs retired; but, after a deliberation in the antichamber, returned to excuse themselves for the occurrence of yesterday, and offered to sign the paper

again. Nothing more was now wanting but to obtain a similar assurance from the absent generals, or, in case of refusal, to seize their persons.

Wallenstein renewed his invitation, and pressed them strongly to hasten their arrival. But on their journey the report of the event of Pilsen reached them, and it suddenly stopped their progress.

Altringer, under the pretence of illness, remained in the strong fortress of Frauenberg. Gallas appeared, it is true, but it was only the better to describe to the emperor, as an eye-witness, the threatening danger. The intelligence which he and Piccolomini gave changed the suspicions of the court, all at once, into the most alarming certainty. Similar discoveries which they made at the same time in other quarters no longer left room to doubt, and the sudden change of commanders in Silesia and Austria appeared to announce a most alarming enterprise.

The danger was urgent, and the remedy must be prompt. However they would not begin with the execution of judgment, but proceed according to the strict rules of justice. They therefore gave secret orders to those of the principal chiefs on whose fidelity it was thought reliance might be placed, by any means they could, to arrest and place in safe custody the Duke of Friedland, together with his two associates, Terzky and Illo, that they might be heard and justify themselves. Should they, however, not be able to effect this in a quiet manner, the public danger required that they should be taken, dead or alive. General Gallas received at the same time another commission, which instructed all the generals and officers of the emperor's orders, absolved the whole army of its obedience to the traitor, and placed it, until the nomination of a new generalissimo, under the command of Lieu-

tenant-General Gallas. To render the return to their duty more easy to the seduced and the rebels, and not to drive the guilty to despair, a general amnesty was granted for all which had taken place at Pilsen against the majesty of the emperor. The honour which they paid Gallas on this occasion was not very desirable to him. He was at Pilsen under the eyes of him whose fate was placed in his hands; in the power of an enemy who had a hundred spies to watch him. Should Wallenstein discover the secret of his commission, nothing could preserve him from the effects of his rage and despair.

If it was already so difficult to conceal such a commission, it was much more so to carry it into execution. The dispositions of the chiefs were uncertain, and it was at least doubtful if they would be found ready, after the steps already taken, to trust to the emperor's promises, and renounce, all at once, the brilliant hopes with which Wallenstein had flattered them. And then what a dangerous enterprise to lay hands upon the person of a man hitherto considered as inviolable, who, by the long exercise of an absolute power and an habitual submission to his will, had become the object of the most profound respect, and who was armed with every attribute of outward majesty and interior greatness; whose aspect already made the executors of his orders tremble, and who with a sign decided life and death!

To seize such a man in the midst of the guards who surrounded him, in a town which was entirely devoted to him, as a criminal, and to convert this object of veneration, of so long standing, all at once into that of pity or contempt, was an enterprise capable of dismaying the boldest.

Fear and respect for this chief were so deeply impress-

ed on the minds of his soldiers, that even the enormous crime of high treason was not capable of entirely extirpating these sentiments. Gallas perceived the impossibility of executing his commission under the duke's eyes, and he most earnestly wished, before he ventured to undertake any thing further, to speak with Altringer. As the long delay of the latter began to awaken Wallenstein's suspicions, Gallas offered to go in person to Frauenberg, to prevail on Altringer, as his relation, to hasten to him. Wallenstein was so sensible of this proof of his zeal, that he furnished him with his own equipage to perform the journey. Gallas, rejoiced at the success of his stratagem, quitted Pilsen immediately, and left Count Piccolomini to watch over Wallenstein's motions; he himself, however, did not delay to avail himself of the emperor's commission wherever it was practicable, and the troops declared themselves in a much more favourable manner than he expected.

Instead of bringing back his friend to Pilsen, he, on the contrary, sent him to Vienna to protect the emperor against a threatened attack, and went himself to Upper Austria, where the near approach of Duke Bernhard of Weimar caused the greatest danger. In Bohemia, the towns of Budweiss and Tabor were again occupied in the name of the emperor, and all the necessary measures were taken to oppose immediately and with energy the designs of the traitor. As it did not appear that Gallas thought of returning, Piccolomini ventured to put the duke's credulity once more to the proof. He begged permission to bring back Gallas, and Wallenstein allowed himself to be deceived a second time. This inconceivable blindness can only be explained as the offspring of his pride. He never withdrew the judgment he had formed of an indi-

vidual, nor would he ever acknowledge the possibility of his being deceived. He allowed Count Piccolomini to be conveyed in his own carriage to Lintz, where he immediately followed the example of Gallas, and even went a step further. He had promised Wallenstein to return: this he did, but at the head of an army, to surprise the duke at Pilsen. Another army, commanded by General Suys, hastened to Prague, to secure this capital to the emperor, and defend it against an attack of the rebels. At the same time, Gallas made known to all the detached corps of the army in Austria that he was the only chief from whom they were henceforth to receive orders. Bills were posted in all the Imperial camps, declaring the duke outlawed, together with four of his associates, and releasing the troops from their obedience to the traitor. The example given at Lintz was soon followed in all parts; they curse the memory of the traitor, and the armies forsake him. At length, as Piccolomini did not return, the veil fell from the eyes of Wallenstein, and terrible was the awaking from his dream. Yet he still believed in the predictions of astrology, and the fidelity of the army.

Immediately upon the news of Piccolomini's defection, he gave out an order that no command should in future be obeyed, which did not immediately proceed from himself, Terzky, or Illo. He hastened to march towards Prague, where he intended finally to throw off the mask, and declare himself openly against the emperor. All the troops were to assemble before Prague, and from thence, with the rapidity of lightning, fall upon Austria. Duke Bernhard, who was led into the conspiracy, was to support the duke's operations with Swedish troops, and make a diversion upon the Danube.

Terzky already hastened towards Prague, and only

the want of horses prevented the duke following with the regiments which remained faithful to him. But while Wallenstein expected, with extreme impatience, intelligence from Prague, he received information of the loss of that city, the defection of his generals, the desertion of his troops, the discovery of his whole plot, and of the rapid march of Piccolomini, who had sworn his destruction. On a sudden, and dreadfully, are all his plans destroyed; disappointed in all his hopes, he stands alone, abandoned by all to whom he had been a benefactor, and betrayed by those on whom he had placed dependence. But these are the very situations which prove great characters. Deceived in all his expectations, he does not renounce any of his projects, nor give his cause up for lost while he himself still lives. The period was now arrived when he wanted that support for which he had so often applied to the Swedes and Saxons, and when all doubts as to the sincerity of his sentiments vanished. And now, when Oxenstiern and Arnheim were convinced that his project was serious, as also that his distress was extreme, they did not hesitate any longer to profit of the favourable opportunity, and promise him their assistance. On the Saxon side it was resolved to detach Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, with four thousand troops to his assistance; and on the Swedish part, Duke Bernhard and the Count Palatine Christian, of Birkenfeld, with six thousand chosen troops. Wallenstein left Pilsen with Terzky's regiment, and the few who yet were faithful to him, or who pretended to be so; he himself hastened to Egra, on the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to be near the Upper Palatinate, and to facilitate his junction with the Duke of Bernhard. The decree was not yet known to him, which proclaimed him a public enemy and traitor:

he first received this thunder-stroke at Egra. He still reckoned upon an army which General Schafgotsh preserved for him in Silesia, and flattered himself that many of those who, a long time since, had forsaken him, would return upon the first dawnings of reviving fortune.

Even during his flight to Egra, so little had sad experience abated his high courage and audacity, that he still meditated the vast project of deposing the emperor. Under these circumstances it happened, that one of his attendants requested permission to give him advice. "With the emperor," said he, "your highness "is certainly a great and highly-esteemed gentleman; with "the enemy you are yet but an uncertain king. It is "therefore not the part of prudence to exchange certainty "for uncertainty. The enemy will profit of your high- "ness's services, because the opportunity is favourable; "your person however will always be suspected by him, "and he will always fear that you will serve him, some "time or other, in the same manner as you now do the "emperor. On this account, retrace your steps while it "is yet time." "And what is to be done now?" replied the duke to him. "You have," answered the other, "in your coffers forty thousand men in arms—(meaning "ducats, stamped with the figure of a man in armour:) "take them in your hands, and go straight to the Imperial "court. There declare that all your measures until now "have had nothing for their aim but to put the fidelity "of the emperor's officers to the test, and distinguish the "loyal from the suspicious; and, since the most have "shewn a disposition to rebel, you are now come to warn "his Imperial Majesty against these dangerous men. "Thus you will cause all to appear as traitors who now "call you a villain. At the Imperial court, with the

" forty thousand ducats, you will meet with the most " favourable reception, and you will be reinstated in " your former dignity." " The advice is good," replied Wallenstein, after some reflection, " but I will not trust " to it."

While the duke actively pressed his negociations at Egra with the enemy, consulted the stars, gave himself up to new hopes, the dagger which shortened his life was sharpened almost under his eyes. The Imperial proclamation which declared him an outlaw, had not failed to produce its effect, and fate pronounced that the ingrate should fall under the blows of ingratitude. Among Wallenstein's officers there was an Irishman named Leslie, honoured by his particular favour, and who owed all his fortune to him. It was this very man who felt himself called upon to execute the sentence of death against his general, and merit the sanguinary reward. No sooner was this Leslie arrived at Egra in the duke's suite, than he hastened to reveal to Colonel Butler, commander of this town, and to Lieutenant General Gordon, two Protestant Scotchmen, the bad projects of the duke, which he had had the imprudence to confide to him during the journey. Leslie here found two determined men, fit for his design. They had to choose between treachery and duty, between the legitimate master and a fugitive rebel, abandoned by all the world; and, although Wallenstein was their common benefactor, the choice could not remain doubtful an instant. They bound themselves firmly, and in the most solemn manner, to be faithful to the emperor, and this required them to take the quickest measures against the common enemy. The opportunity was favourable, and his evil genius delivered him into the hands of vengeance. But, not to usurp the rights of justice, they

agreed to deliver up her victim alive, and they parted with the bold project of taking the general prisoner. The deepest secrecy covered this dark plot; and Wallenstein, without any suspicion that he was so near his ruin, rather flattered himself that he possessed in the garrison of Egra his bravest and most faithful defenders. At this time the Imperial proclamations were brought to him, which contained his sentence, and which were already published in all the camps. He now perceived the greatness of the danger with which he was surrounded, the absolute impossibility of a retreat, his dreadfully-forlorn situation, and the necessity of delivering himself up to the good faith of the enemy. He imparted to Leslie the terrible state of his oppressed mind, and the violence of his grief tore from him the last remaining secret. He disclosed to this officer his intention of delivering up Egra and Elnbogen, the passes of the kingdom, to the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld, and informed him at the same time of the near arrival of Duke Bernhard at Egra, which had been announced to him the same night by a messenger. This discovery, which Leslie hastened to make known to his confederates, changed their former plan. The pressing danger no longer permitted any delay. Egra might every instant fall into the enemy's hands, and a sudden revolution release their prisoner. To prevent this mischance, they determined to assassinate him the following night, as likewise his accomplices. That this event might take place with the least possible noise, it was agreed that the deed should be executed at an entertainment which Colonel Butler gave at the Castle of Egra. All the guests made their appearance except Wallenstein, who, being too much agitated to take any part in the mirth of a feast, sent an apology: with regard to him, therefore, the plan

must be changed; but it was resolved to execute the design upon the others. The three Colonels, Illo, Terzky, and William Kinsky, came in a careless confidence, and with them Captain Neumann, an officer of talents, whom Terzky always employed in intricate affairs, that required peculiar management. Previous to their arrival, they had introduced into the castle the most confidential soldiers of the garrison, who were entrusted with the plot: all the avenues from it were guarded, and six of Butler's dragoons concealed in an apartment near the dining-room, who, on a concerted signal, were to rush out and kill the traitors. Without imagining the danger which threatened them, they carelessly gave themselves up to all the pleasures of the table, and Wallenstein's health was drank in full bumpers, not as an Imperial general, but a sovereign prince. The wine rendered them more communicative, and Illo announced with much pride, that in three days an army would arrive at Egra such as Wallenstein had never before commanded. "Yes," exclaimed Neumann, "and then he hopes to wash his hands "in Austrian blood." In the midst of this discourse the dessert was served up: then Leslie gave the concerted signal to raise the draw-bridges, and he himself took possession of all the keys of the castle. On a sudden the dining-room was filled with armed men, who saluting them with the unexpected cry of "Long live Ferdinand!" placed themselves behind the chairs of the designated guests. Astonished, and immediately suspecting some ill design, the four immediately sprang from the table: Kinsky and Terzky were instantly killed before they could defend themselves. Neumann found an opportunity during the confusion to escape into the court; where, however, he was recognised by the guards, and immediately slain.

Illo alone had sufficient presence of mind to defend himself; he placed his back to a window, from whence he uttered the bitterest reproaches against Gordon for his treachery, and challenged him to fight him as a man of honour and a gentleman. At last, after the most courageous defence, during which he killed two of his enemies, he fell to the ground overpowered by numbers, and pierced with ten wounds.

Immediately after the deed was performed, Leslie hastened into the town to prevent a movement. As the sentinels at the castle gates saw him running out of breath, they took him for one of the rebels, and fired their muskets at him, but without effect. These shots however assembled the town guards, and it required all Leslie's presence of mind to appease them. He now discovered to them in its fullest detail the circumstances of Wallenstein's conspiracy, and the measures taken to prevent the effects of it; the fate of the four rebels; as likewise that which was reserved for the principal himself. As he found them ready to second his design, he immediately exacted of them a new oath of fidelity towards the emperor, and to live and die in the good cause. A hundred of Butler's dragoons were detached from the castle to ride through the streets of the town, in order to keep the traitor's adherents in check, and to prevent any tumult. At the same time all the gates of the town of Egra were occupied, and every access to the castle of Friedland, which led to the square or market-place, was guarded by numerous and confidential troops, that the duke might neither escape nor receive assistance from without. However, before they resolved to execute their project, the conspirators deliberated a long time in the castle, whether they should actually destroy Wallenstein, or content themselves with

making him a prisoner. Covered with blood, reposing, as it were, over the dead bodies of the duke's friends, these ferocious men yet trembled at the horrible act they were about to commit, of terminating a life so glorious. They still saw him their leader in the battle; in his fortunate days, surrounded by his triumphant army in the full splendour of his power; and the awe to which they had so long been accustomed again seized them; but soon the idea of the impending danger conquered this transient emotion. They remembered the threats which Neumann and Illo threw out at table; they already beheld the Swedes and Saxons approaching the gates of Egra with a formidable army, and saw no deliverance but in the speedy death of the traitor. They remained steadfast therefore to their first resolution, and the already-designed assassin, Captain Deveroux, an Irishman, received the sanguinary order. While the three above-mentioned decided on the fate of Wallenstein in the castle of Egra, he was occupied in trying to read it in the stars with Seni. "The danger is not yet over," said the astrologer with a prophetic spirit. "It is," replied the duke, who would even wish heaven to submit to his will. "But thou shalt soon be thrown into "prison," replied the astrologer with the same prophetic spirit. "Friend Seni, does that stand written in the "stars?" The astrologer had taken his leave, and Wallenstein was in bed; when Captain Deveroux presented himself before his residence with six halberdiers, and the guard, who were accustomed to see him come in and go out at all hours, made no difficulty in letting him pass. A page who met him on the stairs, and wished to raise the alarm, was run through the body with a pike. The assassins met in the ante-chamber a valet-de-chambre

who had come out of his master's apartment, and taken the key with him. The affrighted slave, by placing his finger upon his mouth, admonished them to make no noise, because the duke was asleep. "Friend," cried Deveroux, "it is now time to awaken him." With these words he ran against the door, which was bolted on the inside, and burst it open with a kick of his foot. Wallenstein was awakened from his first sleep by the noise of a musket which went off, and rushed to the window to call the guard. At this very moment he heard from the windows of the adjacent building the cries and lamentations of the Countesses Terzky and Kinsky, who had just learned the violent death of their husbands. Before he had time to reflect upon this terrible event, Deveroux was in the apartment with his assassins. Wallenstein was in his shirt as he had sprung out of bed, and leaning on a table near the window. "Art thou the villain," cried Deveroux to him, "who would deliver up the emperor's "troops to the enemy, and tear the crown from the head "of his majesty? Now thou must die!" He paused a few moments, as if he expected an answer; but surprise and scorn closed the mouth of Wallenstein. With extended arms he received in his breast the fatal thrusts from the halberts of the assassins, and fell, bathed in his blood, without a groan. The following day an express arrived from the Duke of Lauenburg, which announced the near approach of this prince.

They secured the messenger, and sent another lackey in the livery of the Duke of Friedland to decoy this prince to Egra. The stratagem succeeded, and Francis Albert delivered himself up into the hands of the enemy. Duke Bernhard, of Weimar, who was already on his march to Egra, was very near meeting with a similar fate. Fortu-

nately for him, he received the news of Wallenstein's death just in time to save himself by a quick retreat from the danger which threatened him. Ferdinand shed some tears over the fate of his general, and ordered 3000 masses to be said in Vienna for the souls of those who had perished; at the same time, however, he did not forget to reward the assassins with gold chains, chamberlain's keys, dignities, and estates. Thus did Wallenstein, at the age of fifty years, terminate his active and extraordinary life. Raised by ambition, he was likewise destroyed by it. He was still great and admirable, notwithstanding all his failings; and inimitable, if he had always preserved moderation. The virtues of the ruler and the hero, prudence, justice, firmness, and courage, are distinguished in his character in colossal forms; but he wanted the milder virtues of humanity, which adorn the hero and procure the ruler the love of mankind. Terror was the talisman with which he worked. Excessive in his punishments as well as in his rewards, he knew how to preserve in continual activity the zeal of those who depended upon him, and no general of ancient or modern times could boast of being obeyed as he was. He held a blind submission to his will of more value than bravery, because the one is but the virtue of the soldier, while the general acts by the other. He kept his army continually in obedience by submitting it to the most arbitrary orders, and rewarded the readiness to obey him even in trifling things with profusion. He at one time issued an order that none but red sashes should be worn in the army, under penalty of death. A captain of horse no sooner heard the order than he took off his gold-embroidered sash and trampled it under his feet. Wallenstein, on being informed of this circumstance, promoted him to the rank of colonel upon

the spot. His penetrating eye embraced every thing, and with all this appearance of caprice he never lost sight of the main object. He had given the most severe orders against the troops who committed robberies in their friends'country, and those who were detected stealing were threatened to be punished with the halter. It happened that Wallenstein himself met a soldier in the field, whom he commanded without further enquiry to be taken up as a transgressor of the law, and with his usual stern order, against which there was no reply, of "Hang the rascal!" condemned him to the gallows. The soldier protested his innocence and proved it, but the irrevocable sentence was pronounced. "Let him be hanged then innocent," cried the barbarian; "the guilty will tremble so much the "more." Preparations were already making to execute this sentence, when the soldier, who gave himself up for lost, formed the desperate resolution of not dying without revenge! Furious, he darted upon his judge, but was stopped and disarmed by the guards before he was able to execute his design. "Now let him go," cried the duke; "it is sufficient to frighten others."

His munificence was supported by immense revenues, which were valued at three millions annually, without reckoning the enormous sums which he knew how to extort under the name of contributions. His independence of mind and clearness of understanding raised him above the religious prejudices of his age, and the Jesuits could never forgive him for seeing through their system and beholding nothing in the pope but a Roman bishop. But as since the days of Samuel the prophet no one who quarrelled with the church came to a fortunate end, so did Wallenstein increase the number of its victims.

Through monkish intrigues he lost his command of the army at Ratisbon and his life at Egra; through monkish

artifices he lost what was perhaps more than both of these, his honest reputation and the good opinion of posterity. To be just, it must be acknowledged that the history of this extraordinary man has not been traced to us by faithful pens, and that the duke's treason, and his projects upon the crown of Bohemia, so far from being supported by facts positively proved, are only grounded upon mere presumptions. No document has yet been found which discovers the secret motives of his conduct with historic truth; and, among all the actions ascribed to him openly, there is not one which might not be attributed to an innocent motive. Many of his most obnoxious measures proved only an over-earnest inclination for peace; most of the others were to be excused by his just mistrust of the emperor and the very pardonable desire of preserving his authority. It is true that his conduct towards the Elector of Bavaria announces indeed a spirit of vengeance not at all generous, and an implacable character; but not any of his deeds justify us in considering his treachery as proved. If, at length, led away by necessity and despair, he actually merited the sentence which punished him as a rebel, yet nothing could justify this sentence pronounced against him when innocent. Wallenstein fell not because he was a rebel, but he rebelled because he fell. His misfortune during his life was, to have made a victorious party his enemy; his misfortune at his death was, that this same party survived him and wrote his history.

END OF BOOK IV.

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK V.

WALLENSTEIN'S death rendered a new Generalissimo necessary, and the emperor was at length prevailed upon by Spain to invest his son Ferdinand, King of Hungary, with this dignity. Under him Count Gallas commanded, who fulfilled the functions of commander-in-chief; while the prince, in fact, only lent the splendour of his name. A considerable force was soon assembled under Ferdinand's colours: the Duke of Lorrain led re-enforcements in person, and the Cardinal Infant brought ten thousand men from Italy to strengthen his army. To compel the Swedes to abandon the banks of the Danube, the new commander-in-chief undertook what they had not been able to prevail upon his predecessor to do, the siege of Ratisbon. In vain Duke Bernhard, of Weimar, penetrated into the interior of Bavaria to draw the enemy from this town; Ferdinand continued to push the siege of Ratisbon with vigour, and this Imperial city opened its gates to him, after the most obstinate resistance.

Donauwerth soon after experienced a similar fate; and then Nordlingen, in Suabia, was besieged. The loss of so many Imperial towns afflicted the Swedish party so much the more, as it was above all to the friendship of these towns, that they were indebted for all the success

which they had hitherto obtained, therefore indifference towards their fate would have been inexcusable. The Swedes covered themselves with lasting shame, if they abandoned their allies in their necessity and gave them up to the revenge of an implacable conqueror. Induced by these considerations, the Swedish army, conducted by Horn and Bernhard, of Weimar, marched towards Nordlingen, determined to relieve this place, even at the expense of a battle. The undertaking was difficult, as the enemy was much superior in number to the Swedes, and prudence counselled the latter under the circumstances to avoid a battle—the more as the force of the Imperialists must in a short time divide itself, and the Italian troops were destined for the Netherlands. They could, in the mean time, choose a position which might cover Nordlingen, and at the same time cut off the enemy's supplies.

Gustavus Horn brought forward all these considerations in the Swedish council of war; but his representations produced no effect upon minds intoxicated by a long series of military success, that saw nothing in the suggestions of prudence but the effects of timidity. Overpowered by the higher authority of the Duke of Bernhard, Gustavus Horn must, against his own opinion, resolve upon a battle, the unfortunate issue of which a sorrowful presentiment already announced to him. The entire fate of the battle appeared to depend upon the possession of a height which commanded the Imperial camp. The attempt to render themselves masters of it during the night had failed, because the difficult transportation of the artillery through hollow ways and woods had retarded the march of the troops. When they arrived there, about midnight, they found that the Imperialists had already

occupied the hill, and erected strong redoubts to defend it. They then awaited the break of day to storm it. The impetuous bravery of the Swedish troops broke through all obstacles; the semi-circular redoubts were fortunately carried by the two brigades charged to attack them; but, as they penetrated at the same time into the intrenchments at opposite sides, they met and were thrown into confusion.

At this unfortunate instant a barrel of powder blew up, and occasioned the greatest disorder among the Swedes. The Imperial cavalry immediately penetrated into the broken ranks, and the confusion became general. No efforts of their general could induce the fugitives to renew the attack. He now resolved to render himself master of this important post, by leading up fresh troops to the attack; but in the mean time some Spanish regiments had occupied it, and every attempt to gain it was rendered vain by the heroical valour of these troops. One of Bernhard's regiments renewed the attack seven times, and was as often repulsed. The Swedes soon found the disadvantage of not having made themselves masters of this post. The fire of the enemy's cannon placed upon the hill made such terrible havock in the near wing of the Swedish army, commanded by Gustavus Horn, that this general was compelled to retreat. Instead of being able to cover the retreat of his colleague, and oppose himself to the progress of the enemy, Duke Bernhard himself was driven by the superior force of the enemy into the plain, where his routed cavalry spread confusion among Horn's troops, and made the defeat and flight general. Almost the entire infantry was either made prisoners or cut to pieces; more than twelve thousand men remained dead upon the field of battle; eighty cannon, about four thou-

sand waggons, and three hundred standards and colours, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Gustavus Horn himself and three other generals were taken prisoners. Duke Bernhard saved with difficulty some feeble remains of the army, which he at length was enabled to assemble under his colours at Frankfort. The defeat at Nordlingen caused the chancellor the second sleepless night in Germany. The loss which it occasioned was infinitely great. The superiority in the field was now all at once lost to the Swedes, and with it the confidence of their allies, to which they had hitherto alone been indebted for the good fortune of their arms.

A dangerous division threatened the Protestant confederacy with ruin: fear and terror seized the whole party, and the Catholics arose with haughty triumph from their deep abasement. Suabia and the neighbouring circles first felt the effects of the defeat at Nordlingen, and Wirtemberg in particular was overrun by the victorious army. All the members of the confederacy of Heilbron trembled before the emperor's indignation; those who could get away saved themselves in Strasburg, and the helpless Imperial towns awaited their fate with anxiety. A little more moderation towards the vanquished would have brought all these weaker states under the emperor's dominion: but the severity with which those were treated that voluntarily submitted, made the remainder desperate, and determined them to the most vigorous resistance. All sought in this embarrassment advice and assistance from Oxenstiern; Oxenstiern, on his side, sought for the same of the states of Germany. Armies were wanting; money was also required to raise new troops, and pay off the old the arrears demanded with importunity. Oxenstiern applied to the Elector of

Saxony, who abandoned the Swedish cause to negociate for peace with the Emperor at Pirna. He solicited the assistance of the states of Lower Saxony; these, for a long time tired of the Swedish demands for money and pretensions of Sweden, cared for nothing now but their own interests; and George, Duke of Luneburg, instead of hastening to the succour of Upper Germany, laid siege to Minden, with the view of keeping it for himself. Abandoned by his German allies, the chancellor had recourse to foreign powers for assistance: England, Holland, and Venice, were solicited for money and troops; and, driven to the utmost necessity, he at length determined upon the unpleasant step to which he had long been so reluctant, that of throwing himself into the arms of France. The period was at last arrived which Richelieu had long waited for with impatience.

Only the complete impossibility of saving themselves by any other means could incline the Protestant states of Germany to support the claims of France on Alsace. This extreme necessity was now arrived; France was indispensable, and she caused herself to be amply paid for the active part which she from this moment took in the German war. This power now appeared in full splendour and reputation upon the political theatre. Oxenstiern, to whom it cost but little to sacrifice the rights of the Germans and their territories, had already ceded the Imperial fortress of Philipsburg to Richelieu, as also the other places which he required. The Protestants of Upper Germany now sent some deputies in their name to place Alsace under the protection of France, the fortress of Brisach, (which was still in the enemy's possession), and all the places upon the Rhine which were considered the keys of Germany. What France meant by protection had,

in the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, been shewn, which it had for some centuries defended against their lawful proprietors. The territory of Treves had already a French garrison; Lorrain was in a manner conquered, as a French army might invade it every instant, without its being able to oppose any resistance to its formidable neighbour. France now had the best possible hope of adding Alsace to its vast possessions; and as it divided the Spanish Netherlands soon after with the Hollanders, it might hope to make the Rhine its natural barrier on the side of Germany. Thus shamefully were German rights sold by German states to that perfidious avaricious power, which, under the mask of a disinterested friendship, only strove after its own aggrandizement, and, while France with a bold face took the honourable denomination of a protectress, thought only how it could spread its nets to profit by the general confusion. In return for these important cessions, France engaged to make a diversion in favour of the Swedes, by commencing hostilities against the Spaniards, and, should it come to an open breach with the emperor himself, to maintain an army of twelve thousand men on this side of the Rhine, which was to act in conjunction with the Swedes and Germans against Austria. The Spaniards themselves furnished the desired pretext for a war. From the Netherlands they fell upon the town of Treves, which they surprised, and put the French garrison to the sword, seized, in violation of the laws of nations, the person of the Elector, who had placed himself under the protection of France, and carried him prisoner to Flanders. When the Cardinal Infant, as Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, refused the satisfaction demanded by the King of France, and to restore the prince whom he had taken to his liberty,

Richelieu, according to ancient usage, formally declared war against him at Brussels by a herald, which was actually commenced by three different armies at the same time, in Milan, the Valteline, and Flanders. The French minister appeared to be less in earnest with the war against the Emperor, in which he had fewer advantages to reap and greater difficulties to conquer. However, a fourth army, under the command of Cardinal de Lavalette, was sent across the Rhine, which, without any previous declaration of war, acted in concert with Duke Bernhard against the Emperor.

The reconciliation of the Elector of Saxony with the Emperor was a more severe blow to the Swedes than even the defeat at Nordlingen, which, after repeated attempts on both sides to prevent or promote, was at length effected at Pirna in the year 1634, and a peace was formally concluded at Prague in the month of May in the following year. The Elector of Saxony had never been able to pardon the pretensions of the Swedes in Germany, and his hatred against this foreign power, which dictated laws in Germany, increased by every new demand which Oxenstiern made upon the states of the German empire.

This bad disposition towards Sweden was above all strengthened by the court of Spain, which employed its strongest efforts to make a peace between Saxony and the emperor. Wearied by the calamities of a long and disastrous war, which had made Saxony, above all other countries, its mournful theatre, excited by the universal and frightful evils that both friends and enemies heaped upon his subjects, and won by the seducing offers of the House of Austria, the elector at last abandoned the common cause, and, less careful as to the fate of his allies and the liberty of Germany, he thought only of forward-

ing his own interests, even at the expense of all. And, in fact, the misery had arrived at such a height in Germany, that on all sides urgent prayers were heard for peace, and even the most disadvantageous would now be considered a blessing from heaven.

Where nature had been lavish of her favours, where formerly there had been abundance and happiness, and thousands of individuals peaceably enjoyed the fruit of their exertions, nothing but devastation was now to be seen. The fields abandoned by the industrious husbandman lay wild and uncultivated; and where a young crop or a smiling harvest appeared, a march of soldiers destroyed the labours of an entire year, the last hope of a people languishing with misery and famine. Burned castles, ravaged fields, villages reduced to ashes, presented to an immense extent an appearance of the most complete destruction, while the indigent inhabitants went to augment the crowd of incendiaries, and ran to exercise their vengeance upon those of their countrymen who had not yet suffered by the public misfortune. No protection against oppression, but in mixing with the oppressors themselves. The towns groaned under the unbridled vexations and pillaging of the garrisons, who squandered the citizens' property, and exercised with an unheard-of cruelty the liberties of war, the licentiousness of their calling, and the terrible privileges which necessity gave them. When the passage of an army ravaged an entire country, when others were impoverished by winter-quarters, or exhausted by contributions; these were, however, only considered slight evils, and the labours of a year could repair the disasters of some months. But the inhabitants, who had a garrison within their walls or in their neighbourhood, could not promise themselves the least

repose; and, such was their fate, that they had not even any thing better to hope for from a change of fortune, as the vanquisher marched upon the steps of the vanquished, and friends as well as enemies shewed equally little forbearance. The neglect of culture, the destruction of crops, the continual passage of troops, who ran in all directions over the exhausted countries, must have famine for the natural consequence, and the failure of the crops of the preceding year completed the misery. The crowds of men in camps and quarters with want on one side, and excess on the other, brought on contagious diseases, which caused more ravages than the sword and fire. All ties of order were broken in this long derangement of affairs, the respect for the rights of the citizen, the fear of the laws, the purity of manners, was lost; truth and faith disappeared, while force alone reigned with an iron sceptre; all the vices grew under the shade of anarchy and impunity, and the inhabitants became ferocious as their country was wasted. No condition in life was respected; even a stranger's property was not sacred from necessity and rapacity. The *soldier*—(to express in a word the misery of these times)—the *soldier ruled*, and this most brutal of despots made even his own general not unfrequently feel the extent of his power. The general of an army was a more important personage in the country he was in than the legitimate sovereign thereof, who was often constrained to fly before him to his strong castles for safety.

All Germany swarmed with these little tyrants, and the provinces suffered as much from their defenders as their enemies. All these wounds were the more painful, when it was remembered that Germany was a prey to the cupidity of foreign powers, that they alone prolonged

the miseries of war only to pursue their own advantages. That Sweden might enrich herself and make conquests, Germany must bleed under the scourge of a cruel war; that Richelieu might remain master of affairs in France, the torch of discord must not be allowed to extinguish in the German empire. But it was not only interested voices which declared against a peace; and although the Swedes as well as the states of the empire desired war from impure motives, yet sound policy likewise seconded them. Could a reasonable peace be expected from the emperor after the defeat at Nordlingen? And, if this was impossible, must they have supported during seventeen years the calamities of war, exhausted all their strength, to have gained nothing in the end, or rather lost every thing? For what purpose had so much blood been shed, if all remained as before, if nothing was improved as to rights and pretensions? if all must be restored at the peace, which had been so dearly acquired? Was it not more desirable to bear for two or three years more the burden of a war which had continued so long, that they might reap at last a compensation for twenty years' sufferings? There was no reason to doubt that a fortunate peace would be the result of their efforts, when the Swedes and Protestants of Germany united as closely in the field as in the cabinet, and acted always in concert with equal zeal for the common cause. Their division alone made the enemy powerful, and removed the hope of a durable and advantageous peace. The Elector of Saxony occasioned this greatest of all evils to the Protestant cause, when he concluded a separate peace with Austria. Even before the battle at Nordlingen, the elector had entered into negociations with the emperor; but the unfortunate issue thereof accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. All

confidence in the Swedes was lost, and it was doubted whether they would ever recover from this severe blow. From the division among their commanders, the insubordination of their army, and the exhausted state of the Swedish kingdom, no further great exploits were to be expected from them. So much the more it was thought expedient to profit of the favourable disposition of the emperor, who did not withdraw any of his propositions, even after the victory at Nordlingen.

Oxenstiern, who had assembled the states at Frankfort, made demands; the emperor, on the contrary, yielded, and thus it did not require long reflection to determine which of the two should be listened to. In the mean time, they were to avoid the appearance of having neglected the public cause for his own private advantage. All the states of the empire, and even Sweden, were invited to partake in this peace, although the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony were the only sovereigns interested in it, to set themselves up as the legislators of Germany. The complaints of the Protestant states were submitted to them, their rights and privileges were regulated by this arbitrary tribunal, and even the fate of religion, without consulting the members who were so much interested in it. It was to be a general peace, a law of the empire, published as such, and carried into execution by Imperial troops, as a formal decree of the empire. Whoever opposed this law was to be considered as a public enemy, and thus he was made, in contempt of all constitutional rights, to acknowledge a law in the construction of which he had not concurred. The peace of Prague was therefore, even in form, a work of arbitrary power, and it was not the less so in its essence. The edict of restitution had been the principal cause of the

rupture which had broken out between the emperor and the elector, and they must therefore, at the moment of reconciliation, first occupy themselves with it. Without revoking it expressly and formally, it was positively agreed in the peace of Prague that all the religious establishments, mediate or immediate, which had been confiscated and possessed by the Protestants after the treaty at Passau, should remain for forty years in the same situation in which they were when the edict of restitution was issued. Before the expiration of this term, a commission, composed of an equal number of members of both religions, should be named to proceed peaceably and legally upon this point; and, if they could not come to a decision, each party should again enter into possession of all the rights which it had exercised before the issuing of the edict. This expedient, therefore, very far from destroying all seeds of discord, only suspended for a considerable time the dreadful effects thereof; and in this article of the peace of Prague the germ of a new war already existed.

The bishopric of Magdeburg was ceded to Prince Augustus of Saxony, and Halberstadt to the Archduke Leopold William. Four estates were taken from the territory of Magdeburg, and given to the Elector of Saxony. The administrator of Magdeburg, Christian William of Brandenburg, was indemnified in another manner for what had been taken from him. The dukes of Mechlenburg were to recover their lands if they acceded to this peace, which they had already for a long time fortunately possessed by the generosity of Gustavus Adolphus; Donauwerth obtained again its constitutional liberty. The important claims of the heirs of the Palatine House remained unnoticed, notwithstanding the interest the Pro-

testant party had in not losing this voice in the College of Electors, because a Lutheran prince owed no justice to a Calvinist. All that the Protestant states, the League, and the Emperor, had conquered from each other in the war was restored. All that the foreign powers, Sweden and France, had appropriated to themselves was forcibly to be retaken from them. The troops of all the contracting parties were to form but one entire army, which was to be sustained and paid at the expense of the empire, to see this peace carried into execution by force of arms. As the peace of Prague was to be considered as a general law of the empire, those points which had nothing to do with the latter were inserted in a particular treaty.

In this Lusatia was ceded to the Elector of Saxony as a fief of Bohemia, and the toleration of religion in that country and Silesia was particularly provided for. All the Protestant states were invited to accede to the peace of Prague, and upon this condition they were to participate in the amnesty. The princes of Wirtemberg and Baden were, however, excepted, whose states were in their power, and which they were far from being inclined to restore unconditionally, and also the Austrian subjects who had borne arms against their sovereigns, and the states, which under Oxenstiern's directions formed the council of the circles of Upper Germany; not so much for the purpose of continuing at war with these states as rather with the secret intention of making them pay dearly for a peace which had become indispensable to them. Their dominions were kept as a pledge until all the restitutions were made and things were entirely replaced in their original state. An equal justice towards all would have perhaps restored the mutual confidence between the

chief of the empire and the members, between Protestants and Papists, between Lutherans and Calvinists; and the Swedes, abandoned by all their allies, would have been forced to a disgraceful retreat from Germany. But this unjust and severe treatment towards the states strengthened their mistrust and spirit of resistance, and rendered it easy to the Swedes to nourish the flame of war and keep up a party in Germany. The peace of Prague, as had been expected, met with a very unequal reception in Germany. In the endeavour to reconcile the hostile parties, they had drawn upon themselves the reproaches of both. The Protestants complained of the restraints which this peace imposed upon them: the Catholics found, on the contrary, their enemies too favourably treated at the expense of the true church. According to the latter, the Catholic church had been despoiled of its inalienable rights, by granting to the Protestants the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical properties for the term of forty years; according to the former, the Protestant church had been betrayed, because toleration of religion had not been obtained for their Protestant brethren in the Austrian dominions. But no person was more bitterly reproached than the Elector of Saxony; he was represented in public writings as a perfidious deserter, a traitor to religion and the German liberty, and an accomplice of the emperor. In the mean time he consoled himself with the triumph that most of the Protestant states were forced to accept the peace which he had made. The Elector of Brandenburg, William, Duke of Weimar, the Princes of Anhalt, the Dukes of Mechlenburg, the Dukes of Brunswick-Luneburg, the Hanseatic towns, and most of the imperial cities, acceded to it. Landgrave William of Hesse appeared a long time uncertain, or at least only

feigned to be so, to gain time and arrange his measures according to circumstances. He had taken possession, sword in hand, of the finest countries in Westphalia, from whence he drew his chief resources for the prosecution of the war, and all of which the present treaty of peace obliged him to restore. Duke Bernhard of Weimar, whose territories at that time existed only upon paper, was not considered as a hostile power, but merely in his character as a belligerent general; and on both accounts it was natural for him to detest the peace of Prague. All his riches consisted in his valour, and his sword was his only fortune: war alone made him great and important; it alone could bring to maturity his ambitious prospects. But, among all who raised their voices against the peace of Prague, the Swedes exclaimed most vehemently, and none indeed had more cause for complaint. Called into Germany by the Germans themselves, saviours of the Protestant church and of the German liberties, which they had purchased at the expense of so much blood, and with the sacred life of their king, they now beheld themselves, all at once, shamefully abandoned, disappointed in all their projects, driven out of the empire, for which they had bled, without reward, without gratitude, and given up to the insulting raillery of the enemy by the very princes who owed to them the preservation of their states. Not a syllable was mentioned in the treaty of Prague as to indemnification, reimbursement of their expenses, or an equivalent for the conquests which they had made and must give up. They must quit Germany poorer than when they came into it; and, if they refused to do so, were to be driven from thence by the very same people who had called them. The Elector of Saxony at last spoke of an indemnification to be given in money, and

which should amount to the sum of two millions and a half of florins. But the Swedes had expended much more of their own property; therefore so shameful a satisfaction in money could not but hurt their interests and wound their pride. "The Electors of Bavaria and Saxony," answered Oxenstiern, "pay themselves for the "assistance they render the emperor with important provinces, for a support which they owe to him in quality "of vassals; and we Swedes, we who have sacrificed "our king for Germany, must be sent home with the "miserable sum of two millions and a half of florins!"

The grief, arising from being disappointed in all their hopes, was the more keen, as they had reckoned with certainty upon receiving, as a reward for their services, the dutchy of Pomerania, whose present possessor was advanced in years and without posterity. But the expectancy of this dutchy was, by the peace of Prague, assured to the Elector of Brandenburg, and all the neighbouring powers raised up their voices against the establishment of the Swedes upon this frontier of the empire. Never during the whole course of the war had the position of the Swedes been so critical as it was in the present year, (1635,) immediately after the publication of the peace of Prague. Many of their allies, particularly the Imperial towns, abandoned them, in order to participate in the benefits of the peace; others were compelled to it by the victorious arms of the emperor.

Augsburg, vanquished by famine, surrendered upon severe conditions; Wurtzburg and Coburg fell into the power of the Austrians; the convention of Heilbron was formally broken; almost the whole of Upper Germany, the principal seat of the Swedish power, acknowledged the dominion of the emperor; Saxony, relying upon the

peace of Prague, demanded the evacuation of Thuringia, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg; Philipsburg, the French depôt, had been surprised by the Austrians with all its military stores, and this great loss had diminished the activity of France. To complete the embarrassment of Sweden, the armistice concluded with Poland was upon the point of expiring. To carry on a war at the same time with Poland and the German empire, was an undertaking that far surpassed the strength of Sweden, who had to choose between these two enemies. Pride and ambition declared for the continuation of the German war, however great the sacrifices might be to obtain a peace with Poland; and yet an army was always necessary to keep this power in respect, and not to lose entirely her liberty at the negociations relative to a peace or an armistice. The vigorous and inexhaustible genius of Oxenstiern bore up against all these misfortunes which fell upon Sweden at the same time, and his penetrating mind instructed him how to turn even reverses to his advantage. The defection of so many German states from the Swedish party deprived him, it is true, of many of those allies which had hitherto supported him; but at the same time he was released from all manner of forbearance towards them; and the more numerous were his enemies, the more territories his armies could spread themselves over, and provide themselves with more resources. The palpable ingratitude of the states, and the haughty contempt with which he was treated by the emperor (who did not condescend to enter immediately into any negociations with him about a peace), excited in Oxenstiern the courage of despair and a noble resolution to brave all obstacles. A war, however unfortunate it might be, could not render the situation of the Swedes worse than it then

was; and, if they must evacuate the German empire, it was at least more reputable as well as more glorious to do so sword in hand, and yield to force, but not to fear.

In the great extremity in which the Swedes found themselves by the desertion of their allies, they cast their regards at first towards France, which met them with the most encouraging offers. The interests of both crowns were closely united, and France acted against itself if she allowed the Swedish power entirely to fall in Germany. The desperate situation of the Swedes was rather the motive which induced France to bind herself more closely to them, and take a more active part in the German war. Since the treaty with Sweden at Beerwalde in the year 1632, France had made war against the emperor by the arms of Gustavus Adolphus, without an open and formal breach, only by the subsidies which she furnished to his opponents, and by her activity in increasing the number of his enemies. But, alarmed at the sudden and extraordinary success of the Swedish arms, she appeared for some time to abandon her first plan, in order to re-establish the balance of power, which had suffered by the superiority of Sweden. She sought to protect the Catholic princes of the empire against the Swedish conqueror by making them embrace a neutral system, and, not succeeding in this design, was about to take up arms against him. But, no sooner had the death of Gustavus Adolphus and the helpless situation of the Swedes dissipated this fear, than she returned with fresh zeal to her original project, and granted without reserve to the unfortunate the support which she had refused during their prosperity.

Freed from the opposition which the ambition and the vigilance of Gustavus Adolphus placed against her projects of aggrandizement, she seized the favourable op-

portunity which the defeat of Nordlingen offered, to appropriate to herself the direction of the war, and dictate the law to those who could no longer do without her support. The epoch favoured her bold projects; and what before seemed to be but a brilliant chimera appeared now as a wise and well-digested plan that circumstances justified. France now turned all her attention to the German war; and, as soon as she had secured, by treaties with the German princes, the execution of her private projects, she appeared as an interesting and commanding power upon the political theatre. While the contending forces exhausted themselves in numerous combats, France had preserved her strength, and during ten years had carried on the war merely with her money; but now, when the circumstances demanded activity, she seized the sword, and engaged in enterprises which astonished all Europe. She sent two fleets to cruize upon the seas at the same time, and likewise six different armies to the field, while she also kept in her pay a king and several German princes.

Animated by the hope of her powerful support, the Swedes and Germans recovered from their deep dejection, and hoped to obtain by force of arms a more honourable peace than that of Prague. Abandoned by their confederates, who made their peace with the emperor, they formed a closer union with France, which redoubled her support with the increasing necessity, although secretly, and took a more active part in the German war, until at length she threw off the mask entirely, and openly attacked the emperor.

To give the Swedes full liberty to act against Austria, France commenced by freeing her from the war with Poland. By means of the Count d'Avaux, her ambassador,

she prevailed upon both parties at Stummersdorf, in Prussia, to prolong the suspension of arms for twenty-six years, although not without great loss to the Swedes, who ceded by a stroke of the pen almost the whole of Polish Prussia, this conquest so dearly bought by Gustavus Adolphus. The treaty of Beerwalde was renewed till a future period, with some alterations which circumstances rendered necessary, first at Compeigne, then at Wismar and Hamburgh. In the month of May, 1635, they had already broken with Spain, and by a vigorous attack of that power deprived the emperor of his most important succours from the Netherlands. By supporting the Langrave William of Hesse-Cassel, and Bernhard, Duke of Weimar, greater liberty was now procured to the Swedish arms upon the Elbe and Danube, and the emperor was obliged to divide his force by a strong diversion upon the Rhine. The war was now prosecuted with more violence than ever, and although the emperor, by the peace of Prague, had diminished the number of his opponents in Germany, he had, at the same time, increased the zeal and activity of his foreign foes. He had obtained an unlimited influence in Germany, and, with the exception of a few states, made himself master of the entire Germanic body, whose forces he could again from henceforth dispose of at his will, as emperor and ruler.

The first effect of this change was the elevation of his son Ferdinand III. to the dignity of King of the Romans, which, notwithstanding the opposition of the heirs of the Elector of Treves and of the Elector Palatine, took place by a decisive majority. But he had driven the Swedes to a desperate resistance, he had armed against him the whole power of France, and drawn her to take part in the interior affairs of Germany. Both crowns,

from this moment formed, with their German allies, one only power closely united ; the emperor with the German states depending upon him formed the other. The Swedes, from this time, shewed no more forbearance, because they fought no longer for Germany, but for their own existence. They acted with more promptitude, freedom, and boldness, because they were no longer compelled to ask counsel from their German allies, and render them an account of their projects. The battles were more obstinate and sanguinary, but less decisive. Greater exploits of bravery, more military skill were exhibited, but they were isolated actions, which not being accompanied by any general plan, nor having any superior genius to profit by the result, were of little consequence to the whole party, and but slightly changed the course of the war. Saxony had engaged, by the treaty of Prague, to drive the Swedes from Germany; from that time, therefore, she joined her standards to those of the emperor; and two allies, closely united for a long time, became implacable enemies to each other. The Archbishopric of Magdeburg, which the peace of Prague allotted to the Saxon prince, was yet in the hands of the Swedes, and all the endeavours made to obtain the restitution of this archbishopric by pacifick measures failed. Hostilities therefore commenced, and the Elector of Saxony began them by the publication of letters called Avocatory, the object of which was to recall all the Saxon subjects in Banner's army which had encamped upon the Elbe. The officers, long discontented by the non-payment of their arrears, attended to this citation, and evacuated one quarter after another.

As the Saxons at the same time made a movement towards Mechlenburg to obtain possession of Doemitz and

cut off the enemy from Pomerania and the Baltic, Banner immediately marched towards that quarter, relieved Doemitz, and defeated the Saxon General Baudissin, at the head of seven thousand men, one thousand of whom were killed upon the spot, and an equal number made prisoners. The brave and impetuous Banner, re-enforced by the troops and artillery which had remained in Polish Prussia, and which the treaty of Stummsdorf rendered henceforth useless in that country, penetrated the following year, 1636, into the Electorate of Saxony, where he satisfied, by the most destructive ravages, his ancient hatred against the Saxons. Exasperated by the insults which he and his Swedes had received from the Saxons for many years, and their haughtiness during their common campaign,—and now furious at the defection of the elector, they made the unfortunate subjects of this electorate feel their terrible resentment. Against the Austrians and Bavarians, the Swedish soldier had fought more from a sense of duty, against the Saxons he satisfied his own private resentment and personal rage, since he detested them as deserters and traitors, and because the hatred of divided friends is commonly the most cruel and implacable. The powerful diversion which the Duke of Weimar and the Landgrave of Hesse made on the Rhine and in Westphalia did not permit the emperor to furnish sufficient succour to the Saxons, and in consequence the whole electorate must suffer the most horrible treatment from Banner's devastating bands. At length the elector caused himself to be joined by the Imperial General Hatzfield, and marched against Magdeburg, which Banner hastened to relieve, but in vain. The united Imperial and Saxon armies were now spread over the march of Brandenburgh, took several towns from the Swedes,

and threatened to drive them to the Baltic. But contrary to every expectation, Banner, though given up for lost, attacked the allied armies on the 24th of September, 1636, near Wistock, and a grand battle took place. The attack was terrible; and the whole force of the enemy was directed against the right wing of the Swedes, led on by Banner in person. They fought a long time on both sides with equal obstinacy and animosity,—there was not a Swedish squadron which did not return ten times to the charge, and was as often repulsed. When Banner at length overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy was forced to retire, his left wing maintained the combat until night, and the Swedish corps of reserve, which had not yet come into action, was ready to renew the battle on the following morning. But the Elector of Saxony would not wait for this second attack. His army was exhausted by the battle of the preceding day, and as the drivers had fled with all their horses, it was impossible to make use of the artillery. He therefore made his escape the same night with the Count of Hatzfield, and abandoned the field of battle to the Swedes. About five thousand of the allies were killed upon the spot, without reckoning those who were cut down during the fight by the Swedish pursuers, or that fell into the hands of the exasperated peasantry. A hundred and fifty standards and colours, twenty-three cannon, all the baggage, in which was included the elector's silver plate, fell into the power of the Swedes, who made, besides, about two thousand prisoners.

This brilliant victory, gained over a far more numerous and advantageously posted enemy, at once restored the reputation of the Swedish arms,—their enemies trembled, and their friends began to form new hopes. Banner, pro-

fited by his good fortune, which had been so decided, immediately crossed the Elbe, and drove the Imperialists through Thuringia and Hesse to Westphalia. He then returned and took up his winter quarters in Saxony. But without the assistance which he received from the diversion that the Duke of Bernhard and the French made on the Rhine, it would have been difficult for him to have obtained this splendid victory.

After the defeat at Nordlingen, Duke Bernhard had assembled the wrecks of the beaten army in Wetterau; but, abandoned by the confederation of Heilbron, which the peace of Prague soon completely dissolved, and but feebly supported by the Swedes, he found he could no longer support the army, nor perform great exploits at its head. The defeat at Nordlingen had deprived him of his dutchy of Franconia, and the weakness of Sweden had taken from him every hope of making his fortune by means of this power. At the same time tired by the constraint which the domineering behaviour of the Swedish Chancellor imposed upon him, he directed his regards towards France, which could furnish him with money, the only thing he had occasion for, and what she was ready to give. Richelieu desired nothing so much as to diminish the influence of the Swedes in the German war, and to take, under a foreign name, the direction thereof. He could not choose a better expedient to attain this end, than that of depriving the Swedes of their most valiant general, by attaching him closely to the interests of France, and assisting himself by means of his army in the execution of his projects. From a Prince like Bernhard, who could not maintain himself without the assistance of a foreign power, France had nothing to apprehend; he could not even with the greatest success render himself independent

of this crown. Bernhard himself went to France, and concluded, in Oct. 1635, at St. Germain-en-Laye, a treaty with this power, no more as a Swedish general, but in his own name, by which it was stipulated he was to receive an annual pension of a million and a half of livres for himself, and four millions for the maintenance of an army which he was to command under the directions of the French king. To excite his zeal in a greater degree, and facilitate through him the conquest of Alsace, they did not hesitate to offer him, by a secret article, that province as a reward; a generous promise, which they were far from being inclined to perform, and of which the duke himself knew how to appreciate the just value. But Bernhard, confiding in his good fortune and his army, opposed dissimulation to dissimulation. If he once found himself powerful enough to wrest Alsace from the enemy, he did not doubt but, in case of necessity, he should be able to defend it against his ally. He now raised, with French gold, an army of his own, which he commanded apparently under France, but of which he was the absolute chief, without entirely giving up his connection with the Swedes. He commenced his operations upon the Rhine, where another French army, under Cardinal La-Valette, had already begun hostilities against the emperor, in the year 1635.

The grand Austrian army, which had gained the great victory at Nordlingen, after subjecting Suabia and Franconia, had advanced, under the conduct of Gallas, against this French army, and fortunately drove it back to Metz, cleared the Rhine of the enemy, and took the towns of Mentz and Frankenthal from the Swedes. But the principal aim of this general, the establishing of his winter quarters in France, was rendered vain by the ac-

tive opposition of the French, and he found himself compelled to lead back his troops into the already-exhausted provinces of Alsace and Suabia. At the opening of the campaign in the following year, however, he passed the Rhine near Brisach, and prepared to remove the war into the interior of France. He actually made an irruption into the dutchy of Burgundy, while the Spaniards fortunately penetrated from the Netherlands into Picardy; and John de Werth, one of the League's formidable generals, and a celebrated partisan, carried his arms far into Champagne, and even alarmed Paris. But the bravery of the Imperialists failed before an inconsiderable fortress in Franche-Comté, and a second time they were compelled to abandon their projects. The active spirit of Duke Bernhard had been hitherto strongly fettered by his dependence on a French general, who did more honour to his cassock than his bâton of command; and, although, in conjunction with him, he had obtained possession of Saverne and Alsace, he had nevertheless not been able to maintain himself upon the Rhine during the years 1636 and 1637.

The ill success of the French arms in the Netherlands had checked the activity of the operations in Alsace and Brisgaw; but, in the year 1638, the war took a more brilliant turn in these parts. Relieved from the fetters which had hitherto restrained him, and now become the absolute master of his troops, Duke Bernhard left, in the beginning of February, his winter quarters which he had taken up in the Bishopric of Basle, and, contrary to every expectation, appeared upon the Rhine, where they were far from imagining an attack in this rough season of the year. The forest towns of Laufenburg, Waldshut, and Seckingen, were surprised and taken, and Rhinfeld besieged.

The Duke of Savelli, an Imperial general who commanded in this country, hastened by forced marches to succour this important place, actually raised its siege, and drove the Duke of Weimar, not without considerable loss, from before it. But, contrary to all human expectations, the latter appeared again the third day after (on the 21st of February, 1638), in front of the Imperialists, who were reposing in full security upon their victory, and defeated them in a grand battle, in which the four Imperial generals, Savelli, John de Werth, Enkeford, and Sperreuter, together with two thousand men, were taken prisoners. Richelieu afterwards caused two of these generals to be conducted to France, John de Werth and Enkeford, in order to flatter the vanity of the French nation by the sight of such renowned prisoners, and to conceal the public miseries by a pompous show of the obtained victory. With the same motives, the standards and colours taken from the Imperialists were likewise carried in solemn procession to the church of Notre-Dame. The taking of Rhinfeld, Roeteln, and Freyburg, was the immediate consequence of Bernhard's victory. His army increased considerably, and his projects expanded in proportion as fortune favoured him. The fortress of Brisach, on the Upper Rhine, commanded that river, and was considered as the key of Alsace. No place in that quarter was of more importance to the emperor, upon no one had he bestowed so much care. The principal object of the Italian army, under the command of Feria, had been the preservation of Brisach; the solidity of its works, its advantageous position, bade defiance to every kind of assault, and the Imperial generals who commanded in that country had orders to risk all for its preservation. But Bernhard confided in his fortune, and resolved to attack this fortress. Impregnable in its strength,

they could only hope to conquer it by famine; and the negligence of its commander, who, expecting no attack, had converted the immense provisions of the place into money, accelerated its fate.

As under these circumstances it was not possible to sustain a long siege, they must hasten to relieve or provide it with provisions. The Imperial General, Goetz, advanced with all speed at the head of twelve thousand men, attended by three thousand provision wagons, which he wished to introduce into the town. But, attacked by Duke Bernhard near Witteveyer, he lost his whole corps, with the exception of three thousand men, and the entire convoy that he had with him.

A similar fate was experienced by the Duke of Lorrain at Ochsenfeld, near Thann, who, at the head of between five and six thousand men, advanced to the relief of the fortress. After a third similar attempt of General Goetz for the deliverance of Brisach had failed, this place, necessitated by a severe famine, surrendered, after a four months siege, on the 7th of December, 1638, to its humane as well as persevering conqueror.

The conquest of Brisach opened a boundless field for the Duke of Bernhard's ambition, and his hopes, which before appeared chimerical, had now the appearance of reality. Very far from abandoning this fruit of his valour for the advantage of France, he determined upon retaining Brisach to himself, and already announced this resolution by the oath he exacted from the vanquished, which he made them take in his own name, without mentioning any foreign power. Exalted by his hitherto-brilliant successes, and raised to the proudest hopes, he believed himself sufficiently powerful to maintain his acquired conquest even against the consent of France.

At a time when all was purchased by bravery, when personal strength was valued, and armies and chiefs were esteemed more than states, it was permitted to such a hero as Bernhard to have some confidence in himself, and to undertake every thing at the head of an army which believed itself, under his command, invincible. In order to obtain a support against the numerous enemies which now surrounded him, and gain a friend, he turned his eyes towards Amelia, Landgravine of Hesse, widow of the lately deceased Landgrave William, a lady of as much understanding as resolution, who had a warlike army, valuable conquests, and a considerable principality, to dispose of with her hand. To unite into one state the Hessian conquests and his own upon the Rhine, and make but one military force of both armies, would form a considerable power in Germany, and perhaps even a third party, which might give the decisive turn to the war. But a premature death put an end to these promising projects. "Take courage, Father Joseph, Bri- "sach is ours!" cried Richelieu in the ear of the Capuchin Friar, who was nearly at the point of death, so much did this joyful intelligence intoxicate the cardinal. He already saw himself master of Alsace, Brisgaw, and all the Austrian frontier countries, without recollecting the promise which he had made to the Duke of Bernhard. The determined resolution of the latter to keep Brisach for himself, which he made known in a positive manner, placed the cardinal in not a little embarrassment, and all endeavours were made to keep the victorious Bernhard in the interest of France. They invited him to court, to witness the honours with which they celebrated the remembrance of his triumphs; but Bernhard perceived the artifice, and avoided the seducing snare. They did him

the honour to offer him a niece of the cardinal's for his spouse; the noble prince refused her, not to contaminate the Saxon blood by an inferior marriage. They now began to consider him as a dangerous enemy, and he was treated as such. They withdrew his subsidies, and bribed the Governor of Brisach and his principal officers to put them, at least after the death of the duke, in possession of his conquests and his army. These artifices were no secret to Bernhard, and the measures which he embraced in the conquered places proved his distrust of France.

But this misunderstanding with the French court had the worst effect upon his future operations. The preparations which he was obliged to make, in order to defend his conquests against an attack of the French, compelled him to divide his force, and the loss of his subsidies delayed his appearance in the field. His intention was to cross the Rhine, to open a passage to the Swedes, and, upon the banks of the Danube, to act against the emperor and Bavaria. He had already discovered his plan to Banner, who was upon the point of carrying the war into the Austrian territories, and promised to relieve him, when death suddenly surprised him at Neuburg upon the Rhine (in July, 1639), in the thirty-sixth year of his age, in the midst of his heroical career. He died of a contagious disease, which, within two days, destroyed about four hundred men in the camp. The black spots which appeared upon his body, some expressions of his own upon his death-bed, and the advantages which France reaped by his sudden death, caused a suspicion that he was taken off by the poison of France; but which the nature of his disorder sufficiently refutes. The allies lost in him the greatest general they possessed after Gustavus Adolphus, France a redoubtable rival for Alsace, and the

emperor his most dangerous enemy. Formed in the school of Gustavus Adolphus a hero and a general, he imitated his sublime model, and only a longer life was requisite for him to equal, if not surpass, him. To the bravery of the soldier he joined the cool and rapid penetration of the general, with the persevering courage of the man the bold determination of youth, to the wild fire of the warrior the dignity of the prince, the moderation of the wise, and the conscientiousness of a man of honour. Never discouraged by misfortune, he recovered from the severest blow with as much energy as quickness; no opposition could restrain his boldness, no disappointment conquer his invincible courage. His genius strove after a great, a perhaps unattainable, aim; but men of this kind have other rules of conduct than those which guide the multitude: more capable than any other to execute, he therefore dared to form bolder plans. Bernhard presents himself in modern history as a beautiful image of those ages of chivalry, when personal greatness had some value, bravery obtained states, and the virtues of a hero elevated a German knight to the Imperial throne.

The best part of the duke's possessions was his army, which, together with Alsace, he left to his brother William. But Sweden and France thought they had well-grounded claims to this army; the former because it had been raised in its name, and had taken the oath of fidelity to it—the latter because it had been supported at its expense. Even the Electoral Prince of the Palatinate sought to obtain possession thereof, to employ it in the reconquest of his states, and endeavoured first by his agents to draw it to his interests, and then endeavoured to do so in person. The emperor also, on his side, made an attempt to gain this army, a circumstance not so surprising

at a time when the justice of the cause was less considered than the price of the services performed, and valour, like all other merchandise, was disposed of to the highest bidder. But France, richer and more determined, outbid her competitors. She bought over General Erlach, who commanded at Brisach, and the other chiefs, who delivered up to her that fortress with the entire army. The young Count Palatine, Charles Louis, who had already made, the preceding year, an unfortunate campaign against the emperor, saw his plan here again miscarry. Being about to do France so ill a service, he had the inconsiderateness to travel through that kingdom. The cardinal, who feared the just cause of the Count Palatine, willingly embraced any measure to render his enterprise vain. He therefore cause him to be arrested at Moulins against the laws of nations, and did not restore him to liberty until he was informed of the purchase of Weimar's troops.

Thus France now saw herself in the possession of a considerable and well-disciplined military force in Germany, and from this moment she began to make war against the emperor in her own name. But it was no longer Ferdinand II. against whom she now appeared as an open enemy. Death had withdrawn that prince from the theatre of worldly affairs in February, 1637, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. The war which his ambition had kindled survived him. During his reign of eighteen years he never ceased to have his hand upon his sword; never during the time that he wielded the Imperial sceptre did he taste the blessings of peace. Born with the qualities of a good sovereign, endowed with many virtues which make the happiness of the people, mild and humane by nature, we see him, from an ill-conceived notion of his prerogative, the

instrument, and at the same time the victim, of foreign passions, failing in his beneficent intentions, and the friend of justice degenerate into the oppressor of humanity, the enemy of peace, and the scourge of his people. Amiable in private life, and respectable as a sovereign, he was ill-advised in his politics, and, while he merited the blessings of his Catholic subjects, he drew down upon himself the curses of the Protestants. History presents to us other and worse despots than Ferdinand II. and yet only one who has been able to kindle *a thirty years war*; but the ambition of this one must unhappily have coincided with the period, with the existing dispositions and germs of discord, in order to be accompanied by such dreadful consequences. At a peaceful time this spark would have found no nourishment, and the tranquillity of the age would have stifled the ambition of an individual; but now it unfortunately fell upon a heap of combustible materials, long prepared, and Europe was inflamed. His son, Ferdinand III. elevated to the dignity of King of the Romans a few months previous to the death of his father, inherited his throne, his principles, and his war. But Ferdinand III. had beheld at a closer view the miseries of the people and the devastation of the provinces, and felt more strongly the necessity of peace. Less dependent upon the Jesuits and Spain, more equitable towards other religions, he could hearken more easily than his father to the voice of moderation. He did listen to it, and presented peace to Europe, but not until after a contest of eleven years with the sword and the pen, and not before all resistance was vain, and pressing necessity dictated its hard law to him. Fortune favoured the commencement of his reign, and his arms were victorious against the Swedes. The latter had, under the conduct

of the valorous Banner, after the battle of Wistock, taken up their winter-quarters in Saxony, and opened the campaign of the year 1637 by the siege of Leipzig. The courageous resistance of the garrison, and the approach of the Saxon and Imperial troops, saved that town, and Banner, in order not to be cut off from the Elbe, was forced to retire to Torgau. But the superiority of the Imperialists also drove him thence, and, surrounded by enemies in all parts, interrupted by rivers, and pressed by hunger, he must undertake a most dangerous retreat into Pomerania, the boldness and fortunate success of which border upon romance. The whole army waded through the water at a shallow part of the Oder near Furstenberg, and the soldiers, who were up to their necks therein, drew the cannon along when their horses became disabled.

Banner had reckoned upon finding General Wrangel upon the other side of the Oder, who commanded under his orders in Pomerania; and, re-enforced by him, he thought he should be able to make head against the enemy. Wrangel did not appear, and in his stead an Imperial army was posted at Landsberg to cut off the retreat of the Swedes. Banner now perceived he had fallen into a dreadful snare, from which there appeared to be no escape. Behind him lay an exhausted country, the Imperialists, and the Oder—the Oder on the left, guarded by the Imperial general, Bucheim, did not afford a passage: before him Landsberg, Custrin, the Warta, and an enemy's army: on the right Poland, which, notwithstanding the suspension of arms, he could not well trust. He saw himself lost, unless extricated by a miracle; and the Imperialists already triumphed in his inevitable destruction.

Banner with just indignation blamed the French as the cause of this misfortune. They had neglected to make, according to their promise, a diversion upon the Rhine; and their inactivity enabled the emperor to employ his whole force against the Swedes. "Should we ever," said the incensed general to the French commissioner, who followed the Swedish camp, "should we ever join "the Germans in a war against France, we shall not "make so much ceremony before we cross the Rhine." But reproaches were now lavished in vain; the pressing necessity demanded an immediate resolution. In order to oblige the enemy to abandon the Oder, Banner feigned to direct his march towards Poland; he actually sent the greatest part of his baggage by that road, and caused his spouse to follow the same route, as also the wives of the rest of the officers. The Imperialists immediately advanced towards the frontiers of Poland, to cut off this passage; Bucheim also abandoned his position, and the Oder was free. Banner, taking advantage of the night, suddenly returned to that river, and crossed it a mile above Custrin with his troops, baggage, and artillery, without either bridges or boats, as he had formerly done at Furstenberg. He reached Pomerania without loss, of which he undertook the defence, in concert with Herman Wrangel. But the Imperialists, conducted by Gallas, penetrated into that dutchy at Ribses, and overran it with their superior force. Usedom and Wolgast were taken by storm, Demmin by capitulation, and the Swedes were driven to Lower Pomerania. It was now of more importance than ever to maintain themselves in this country, as Duke Bogislas XIV. died this year, and Sweden must make valid her pretensions to the dutchy of Pomerania. To prevent the Elector of Brandenburg from profiting of the rights that

a treaty of succession and the peace of Prague gave him upon that dutchy, Sweden now made the uttermost efforts, and supported her generals in the most energetic manner both with men and money.

In other parts of the empire the affairs of Sweden took a more favourable turn, and they began to revive from the humiliating situation in which the inactivity of France and the defection of their allies had placed them; for after their precipitate retreat to Pomerania they had successively lost all their posts in Upper Saxony. The princes of Mechlenburg, pressed by the Imperial arms, began to incline to the side of Austria; and even George, Duke of Luneburg, declared himself against the Swedes. Ehrenbreitstein, vanquished by famine, opened its gates to the Bavarian general, Werth, and the Austrians took possession of all the intrenchments erected upon the Rhine. France had experienced losses in her war with Spain, and the issue of this war did not answer the pompous preparations with which she had commenced it. All was lost which the Swedes possessed in the interior of Germany, and only the principal places in Pomerania yet remained to them. A single campaign raised them from this profound abasement, and by the powerful diversion which the victorious Bernhard caused to the Imperial arms on the banks of the Rhine, the whole face of the war was quickly changed. The misunderstandings between France and Sweden had at last entirely ceased, and the old treaty concluded between these two crowns had been confirmed at Hamburg with new advantages for the Swedes. In Hesse the politic Landgravine Amelia, with the consent of the states, took upon herself the Government after the death of William, her husband, and with much resolution maintained her rights against the emperor and

the line of Darmstadt. Devoted from religious principle to the Swedish Protestant party, she merely waited for a favourable opportunity to declare herself openly and loudly for it. In the mean time she knew, by her prudent reserve and skilfully protracted negociations, how to amuse the emperor until her secret alliance with France was concluded and Bernhard's victories gave a more favourable turn to the Protestant affairs. She then at once threw off the mask, and renewed her former alliance with the Swedish crown. The triumphs of Duke Bernhard likewise animated the Electoral Prince of the Palatinate to try his fortune against the common enemy. He raised troops in Holland with English gold, formed a magazine at Heppen, and united himself with the Swedish troops in Westphalia. His magazine indeed was lost, his army was beaten at Flotha by Count Hatzfield, but his enterprise had nevertheless occupied the enemy for some time, and assisted the operations of the Swedes in other quarters. Many other friends now reappeared as fortune declared in their favour, and it was already a circumstance highly favourable to their interests that the states of Lower Saxony embraced neutrality.

Favoured by these important advantages, and re-enforced by fourteen thousand fresh troops from Sweden and Livonia, Banner, full of hope, opened the campaign of the year 1638. The Imperialists, who occupied Upper Pomerania and Mecklenburg, abandoned for the most part their posts, or deserted in troops to the Swedish colours, to escape famine, their most cruel enemy in those exhausted and impoverished countries.

The marchings and quarters of the troops till now had exhausted in so frightful a manner all the country between the Elbe and the Oder, that Banner, to penetrate into

Saxony and Bohemia, and, not to die of famine during the march with all his army, made a circuit from Lower Pomerania to Lower Saxony, and entered into the electorate by the territory of Halberstadt. The impatience of the states of Lower Saxony to get quit of so exigent a guest, caused them to provide him with the necessary provisions, so that he had bread for his army at Magdeburg, a country where hunger had already conquered the aversion to human flesh. He spread consternation throughout Saxony by his destructive arrival; however, his views were not directed on this exhausted country, but upon the emperor's hereditary states. Bernhard's victories encouraged him, and the opulent provinces of the House of Austria excited his avarice.

After he had beaten General Salis at Elsterburg, destroyed the Saxons army near Schemnitz, and conquered Pirna, he penetrated into Bohemia with irresistible force, crossed the Elbe, threatened Prague, conquered Brandeis and Leutmeritz, beat General Hofkirchen with ten regiments, and spread terror and desolation throughout the whole defenceless kingdom. All that could be taken away became the soldiers' booty, and what they could not enjoy nor remove was destroyed. To carry off a greater quantity of corn, they cut the ears from the stalks, and spoiled what was left. Above a thousand castles, hamlets, and villages, were laid in ashes; and often, during one night, a hundred were seen in flames. From Bohemia he made incursions into Silesia, and even Moravia and Austria were to experience his rapacity. To prevent this, Count Hatzfield was obliged to hasten from Westphalia, and Piccolomini from the Netherlands. Archduke Leopold, a brother of the emperor, obtained the staff of command to repair his predecessor Gallas's want of skill, and

raise the Imperial army from its deplorable state to its former reputation. The commencement justified the changes which were made, and the campaign of the year 1640 appeared to take a very unfavorable turn for the Swedes. They were successively driven from one quarter after the other in Bohemia, and only occupied themselves in securing their booty; they hastily retired across the mountains of Misnia; but also quickly pursued through Saxony by the enemy, and beaten at Planen, they were obliged to seek refuge in Thuringia. After having made themselves masters of the field in a single summer, they as quickly fell into the greatest distress, only again to recover their former consideration, and thus hastened with astonishing rapidity from one extreme to another. Banner's enfeebled army, menaced with total ruin in his camp at Erfurt, suddenly recovered itself. The Dukes of Luneburg renounced the peace of Prague, and now conducted to him the same troops which they had caused to combat against him a few years before. Hesse sent succours, and the Duke of Longueville joined his colours with the late Duke of Bernhard's army.

Banner, once more superior to the Imperialists, offered them battle near Saalfeld, but their chief, *Piccolomini*, prudently declined it, and had chosen such an excellent position, that it was impossible to force it. When at last the Bavarians separated from the Imperialists, and directed their march to Franconia, Banner endeavoured to make an attack upon this divided corps, which, however, the prudence of the Bavarian General, Mercy, and the sudden approach of the Imperial army, rendered vain.

Both armies now retired into the exhausted territory of Hesse, where they formed intrenched camps, not far from one another, until at length hunger and the severity of

the season drove them from this desolated country. Piccolomini chose for his winter quarters the fertile banks of the Weser; but, outflanked by Banner, he was forced to abandon them to the Swedes, and retreat into the Bishoprics of Franconia. At this period a diet was held at Ratisbon, in which the complaints of the states were to be heard, the tranquillizing of the empire was to be considered, and war and peace determined on. The presence of the emperor, the majority of Catholic voices in the electoral college, the superior number of bishops, and the desertion of many of the Protestant states, inclined the transactions of this diet to the advantage of the emperor, and thus the empire was far from being represented therein. The Protestants, not without reason, considered it as a conspiracy of Austria and her partisans against them, and in their eyes it appeared praiseworthy to dissolve this assembly, or disperse its members by terror. Banner conceived this audacious project. By his last retreat from Bohemia, his military renown had suffered, and it required some bold deed to re-establish it in its former brilliancy. Without confiding his plan to any one, he quitted his quarters at Luneburg in the severest cold of the winter, in the year 1641, when the roads and rivers were frozen. Accompanied by marshal de Guebriant, who commanded the French and Duke of Weimar's army, he directed his march towards the Danube, through Thuringia and Voigtland, and appeared under the walls of Ratisbon before the diet could be informed of his arrival. Inexpressibly great was the consternation of the members of the assembly, and, in the first alarm, all the deputies were inclined to take flight. The emperor alone declared he would not leave the town, and thus encouraged the rest by his example.

Unfortunately for the Swedes, a thaw came on, which rendered the Danube impassable on foot; neither could it, on account of the enormous pieces of ice which were floating down the river, be crossed in boats. Still, to have done something, and humiliate the pride of the German Emperor, he had the incivility to salute the town with five hundred cannon balls, which, however, caused but little mischief. Disappointed in this undertaking, he now determined to press further into Bavaria, and also into Moravia, which was defenceless, in order to procure a rich booty and comfortable quarters for his exhausted troops. But nothing could prevail upon the French general to follow him. Guebriant feared that the design of the Swedes was only to entice Weimar's army still further from the Rhine, to cut off all its communication with France, until they had either entirely gained it over, or put it out of its power to act independently. He therefore separated himself from Banner, to return towards the Maine, and the Swedish general saw himself suddenly exposed to the whole of the Imperial army, which had secretly assembled between Ratisbon and Ingolstadt, and advanced against him. He must now think of a quick retreat, which, in face of an army superior in cavalry, across rivers and forests, in a country full of enemies, it appeared hardly possible to effect without a miracle. He immediately entered the forest, intending to retire through Bohemia to Saxony; but he was obliged to abandon three of his regiments at Neuburg. Those intrenched behind an old wall made a resistance, worthy of Spartans, to the enemy's force during four entire days, which gave Banner time to escape. He retreated by Egra to Annaberg. Piccolomini pursued him by a shorter route through Shlakenwald, and, but for the advantage

of half an hour, the Imperial general would have arrived before him at the passes of Prisnitz, and destroyed the Swedish army.

Guebriant again united himself to Banner's army at Zwickau, and both generals directed their march to Halberstadt, after having in vain endeavoured to prevent the Austrians from crossing the Saal. Banner at length terminated his career at Halberstadt, in the month of May, 1641; his death was occasioned by intemperance and vexation. He sustained the reputation of the Swedish arms in Germany with great renown, although with various success, and shewed himself, by a train of victorious deeds, worthy of his great master in the art of war. He was fruitful in projects, which he prudently kept secret, and executed with rapidity. Deliberate in danger, greater in adversity than in good fortune, and never more formidable than when he was believed to be at the brink of destruction. But in him were united with the virtues of the hero all the defects and vices which the profession of arms generate, or, at any rate, favour. Equally imperious in society as at the head of his army, boisterous as his profession, and proud as a conqueror, he oppressed the German princes no less by his haughtiness than by his contributions in their territories. He indemnified himself for the fatigues of war by the joys of the table and excess of voluptuousness, which eventually brought him to an early grave. But though he was addicted to pleasure as much as Alexander and Mahomet II. he could with equal facility abandon it to resume the most painful labours of war; and the General reappeared in all his grandeur, when his army were murmuring at his effeminacies. About eighty thousand men perished in the numerous battles which he fought, and six hundred

standards and colours sent by him to Stockholm attest his victories. The loss of this great general was soon most sensibly felt by the Swedes, and they feared that he could not be replaced. The spirit of sedition and licentiousness, kept within bounds by the high authority of this dreaded general, awoke as soon as he had ceased to live. The officers demanded, with an alarming unanimity, their arrears of pay; and none of the four generals who shared the command after Banner's death had sufficient consideration to satisfy these impetuous claimants, or to silence them. Discipline relaxed; increasing want, and the Imperial citations, daily diminished the army; the Weimar troops shewed little zeal; those of Luneburg forsook the Swedish colours, because the princes of the House of Brunswick, after the death of Duke George, had made their reconciliation with the emperor; and at last the Hessians separated from them, to seek better quarters in Westphalia. The enemy profited by these calamitous circumstances; and, although beaten in two pitched battles, succeeded in making considerable progress in Lower Saxony. At length the new Swedish Generalissimo appeared with fresh troops and money. This was Bernhard Torstensohn, a pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, and the most fortunate imitator of that hero, whom he had already served in quality of page in the Popish war. Lame with the gout, and, as it may be said, confined to his couch, he surpassed all his opponents in activity; and, whilst the most terrible of all fetters bound his body, his enterprises were executed with the greatest celerity. The theatre of war was changed under him, and new maxims were adopted, which necessity required, and the result justified. All the countries in which they had hitherto fought were exhausted, and the House of Austria, tran-

quil in its remotest territories, felt not the miseries of the war, under which Germany so long had bled.

Torstensohn first procured it this bitter experience, satiated his Swedes with the rich spoils of Austria, and cast the firebrand even to the throne of the emperor. In Silesia the enemy had gained considerable advantages over the Swedish general Stalhantsch, and had driven him towards the new March. Torstensohn, who had joined the main Swedish army in Luneburg, caused that general to join him, and marched, in the year 1642, through Brandenburg, which, under the great elector, had embraced an armed neutrality, and suddenly penetrated into Silesia. Glogau-The-Less, without approaches or a breach, was taken by storm, Francis Albert, Duke of Lauenberg, was defeated and killed at Schweidnitz; this town fell into the power of the Swedes, and almost the whole of Silesia on the hither side of the Oder. Torstensohn now penetrated with impetuous force into the interior of Moravia, where no enemy of the House of Austria had hitherto appeared, obtained possession of the town of Olmutz, and made even Vienna tremble. Meanwhile Piccolomini and the Archduke Leopold had assembled a considerable force, which drove the Swedish conqueror from Moravia, and soon after from Silesia, where he made a fruitless attempt upon Brieg.

Re-enforced by Wrangel, he again marched against the enemy, superior in number, and relieved Great Glogau; but he could neither bring the Imperialists to a battle nor execute his designs upon Bohemia. Torstensohn now overran Lusatia, where he took Zittau in presence of the enemy, and after a short stay directed his march through Misnia towards the Elbe, which he passed at Torgau. He then threatened Leipzig with a siege, hoping to find in that

opulent city, which the war had spared for ten years, a rich store of provisions of all kinds, and to raise great contributions. The Imperialists, conducted by Leopold and Piccolomini, immediately hastened by Dresden to relieve Leipzig, and Torstensohn, to avoid being enclosed by the enemy's army and the town, advanced boldly in full order of battle against them. By a singular concurrence of circumstances, they met again on the same ground which Gustavus Adolphus, eleven years before, had immortalized by a decisive victory; and the valorous conduct of the heroes of that day excited, upon this sacred spot, a noble emulation in the bosoms of the present combatants. The Swedish generals, Stalhantsch and Willenberg, fell upon the left wing of the Imperialists, which was not yet regularly formed, with such impetuosity, that the whole of the cavalry destined to cover it was routed, and rendered useless in the combat. But the left of the Swedes was threatened with a similar fate, when the victorious right wing hastened to its assistance, fell upon the enemy in rear and flank, and divided his lines. The infantry on both sides firmly stood their ground, and, after consuming all their powder, fought with the but-ends of their muskets, till at last the Imperialists, surrounded on all sides, after an action of three hours, were compelled to abandon the field of battle. The generals of both armies had used their utmost efforts to rally their flying troops, and the Archduke Leopold, at the head of his regiment, was the first who came to the attack, and the last who retreated.

This sanguinary victory cost the Swedes above three thousand men and two of their best generals, Schlangen and Lilienhoeck. On the side of the Imperialists five thousand men remained dead upon the field, and almost

an equal number were made prisoners. Their whole artillery, consisting of forty-six cannon, the silver plate and archives of the archduke, together with the entire baggage of the army, fell into the victor's hands. Torstensohn, too much disabled by his victory to pursue the enemy, advanced to Leipzig; the defeated army retired to Bohemia, where the dispersed regiments reassembled. The Archduke Leopold could not bear this defeat, and he made the regiment of cavalry, whose early flight had been the occasion of it, experience the effects of his resentment. At Rackonitz, in Bohemia, he declared it dishonoured in presence of the army, deprived it of its horses, arms, and insignia, caused its standards to be torn, condemned to the penalty of death many of the officers, and decimated the soldiers.

The most important result of Torstensohn's victory was the taking of Leipzig, which surrendered three weeks after the battle. The city was obliged to clothe the whole of the Swedish army anew, and only redeemed itself from pillage by giving three tons of gold to the conqueror, towards which the foreign merchants who had their warehouses therein were obliged to contribute. Torstensohn marched in the winter against Freyberg; he braved, during many weeks, the rigour of the season under the walls of that town, and hoped by his perseverance to conquer the courage of the besieged. But he only sacrificed his troops in vain, and the approach of the Imperial general, Piccolomini, compelled him at last to retreat with his enfeebled army. He, however, considered it an advantage to have forced the enemy to renounce the repose of winter-quarters, of which he voluntarily deprived himself, and with having caused them a loss of three thousand horses in this unfavourable winter's cam-

paign. He now made a movement towards the Oder, to re-enforce himself by the garrisons of Pomerania and Silesia, but suddenly he reappeared upon the Bohemian frontiers, traversed that kingdom with rapidity, and relieved Olmutz in Moravia, which was hardly pressed by the Imperialists. From his camp at Dobitschau, two miles from Olmutz, Torstensohn commanded all Moravia, oppressed it by severe contributions, and caused his troops to make excursions even to the bridges of Vienna. The emperor in vain endeavoured to arm the nobility of Hungary to defend that province; they excused themselves under cover of their privileges, and refused to serve out of their native country. In this fruitless negociation the time for a vigorous opposition was lost, and the whole province of Moravia was allowed to be ravaged by the Swedes.

While Bernhard Torstensohn, by his marches and triumphs, excited astonishment in his friends and enemies, the allied armies had not remained inactive in other parts of the empire. The Hessians and the troops of Weimar, under Count Elberstein and Marshal de Guebriant, had entered into the Electorate of Cologne, to take up their winter-quarters there. To get quit of these plundering guests, the elector called to his aid the Imperial general Hatzfield, and assembled his own troops under General Lamboy. These the allies attacked at Kempen in January, 1642, and defeated them in a great battle, wherein two thousand men were killed, and double that number taken prisoners. This important victory opened the whole electorate of Cologne and the adjacent countries to the allies, so that they could not only maintain their winter-quarters there, but even draw considerable re-enforcements of men and horses. Guebriant left the Hessians to defend their conquests upon the Lower Rhine

against Count Hatzfield, and advanced towards Thuringia, to support Torstensohn's undertakings in Saxony. But, instead of joining the Swedes, he hastily retired to the Maine and Rhine, from which he had too far removed. As the Bavarians, under Mercy and John de Werth, had arrived before him in the margraviate of Baden, he wandered, during several weeks, exposed to all the inclemencies of the season, without shelter, and was often obliged to encamp upon the snow, until he at length found a miserable asylum in Brisgaw. In the following summer he indeed appeared again in the field, and occupied the Bavarian army in Suabia, so that it could not relieve Thionville in the Netherlands, which was besieged by the Prince of Condé. But, soon attacked by an enemy superior in numbers, he was driven back into Alsace, where he awaited a re-enforcement. The death of Cardinal Richelieu, which took place in the month of November, 1642, and the change of the king and ministry which the death of Louis XIII. in May, 1643, occasioned, had withdrawn the attention of France for some time from the war in Germany, and caused their inactivity in the field. But Mazarine, the inheritor of Richelieu's power, his principles, and his projects, pursued with redoubled zeal the plan of his predecessor, however dear the French subjects were to pay for the political greatness of their nation. If Richelieu employed his principal force against Spain, Mazarine turned it against the emperor, and, by the pains which he took to carry on the war in Germany, verified his maxim, that the German army was the right arm of his king, and the bulwark of France. Immediately after the taking of Thionville, he sent a considerable re-enforcement into Alsace to Marshal Guebriant, and, in order to reconcile these troops the more easily to the fatigues of

the war they were going to undertake in Germany, the renowned conqueror at Rocroy, the Duke of Enghien, afterwards Prince of Condé, conducted them there in person. Guebriant now felt himself strong enough to reappear in the field with honour. He hastily repassed the Rhine, to seek for better winter-quarters in Suabia, and actually made himself master of Rothweil, where a Bavarian magazine fell into his hands.

But this place cost more than it was worth, and was lost again more speedily than it had been gained. Guebriant received a wound in the arm, which the unskilfulness of his surgeon rendered mortal; and the greatness of his loss was felt even on the very day of his death.

The French army, considerably diminished by this expedition in so rough a season of the year, had retired, after the taking of Rothweil, to the neighbourhood of Duttlingen, where, without any suspicion of an attack from the enemy, it reposed in perfect security. Meanwhile the enemy assembled a considerable force, to prevent the French from establishing themselves beyond the Rhine, approaching near Bavaria, and to free this country from their exactions. The Imperialists, under Hatzfield, joined the Bavarians, commanded by Mercy; and the Duke of Lorraine, who, during the whole course of this war, was found every where but in his own dutchy, joined the combined armies with his troops. It was resolved to surprise and beat up the French quarters in Duttlingen and the neighbouring villages—a very favourite species of expedition during this war, and, as it always necessarily occasions more confusion, commonly costs more blood than a regular battle. Such a plan could not be executed more opportunely, as the French soldiers, little familiarized with this mode of attack and the severity of a German

winter, believed themselves sufficiently secure against a surprise by the rigour of the season. John de Werth, a master in this species of warfare, and who had been some time since exchanged for Gustavus Horn, conducted the enterprise, and executed it with a good fortune which surpassed all expectation. The attack was made on a side where it was least expected, on account of the numerous defiles and forests which defended it; and a violent snow, which fell upon the same day, the 24th of November, 1643, concealed the approach of the van guard until it halted before Duttlingen. All the artillery without the town, together with the castle of Hemburg, situated in the neighbourhood, was taken without resistance. Duttlingen itself was surrounded by the enemy's army, which arrived by degrees, and cut off all its communication with the adjacent villages. The French were therefore already vanquished without firing a cannon. The cavalry owed their preservation to the celerity of their horses and a few minutes advance which they gained of the enemy.

The infantry were either cut in pieces or voluntarily laid down their arms. About two thousand men were killed, and seven thousand made prisoners, together with twenty-five staff-officers and ninety captains. This was, perhaps, the only action in all this war which produced nearly the same impression upon the party which won and that which lost; both were Germans, and it was the French who had disgraced themselves.

The remembrance of that unfortunate day, which was renewed a century later at Rosbach, was indeed effaced, in the sequel, by the exploits of a Turenne and a Condé; but the Germans were very excusable in indemnifying themselves by a ballad upon the French bravery, for all

the miseries which French politics had heaped upon them. This defeat of the French had, however, become very fatal to the Swedes, who now had the whole of the emperor's undivided force against them; and a new enemy at this time prepared to make war against them. Torstensohn had suddenly abandoned Moravia in Sept. 1643, and retired into Silesia. No one knew the cause of his departure, and the various movements which he continually caused his army to make, contributed to augment the uncertainty with regard to it. From Silesia he marched towards the Elbe by different circuits, and the Imperialists followed him as far as Lusatia. He laid a bridge across this river, near Torgua, and caused the report to be spread that he was going to penetrate through Misnia into the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria. He also pretended as if he would pass the river at Barby, but gradually retreated from the Elbe as far as Havelberg, where he astonished his army, by informing it that he intended to lead it to Holstein against the Danes.

The partiality which King Christian IV. had for a long time shewn against Sweden in the character of mediator, which he had adopted, the jealousy with which he opposed himself to the progress of her arms, the obstacles which he placed to her navigation in the Sound, and the burdens which he laid upon her growing commerce, excited the resentment of this crown; and these humiliations still increasing, at last determined Sweden to revenge herself. However rash it might appear to under take a new war, while almost sunk under the burden of the old one even amidst their victories, yet the desire of revenge, and the ancient national hatred, elevated the courage of the Swedes above every fear; and the embarrassment in which the German war had placed them was

also another motive to try their fortune against Denmark. It was at last come to this point, that the war must be prosecuted only to occupy the troops and procure them bread; if they fought only for the advantage of winter quarters, they would consider it more fortunate to have procured good cantonments for the army, than to have gained a decisive battle. But almost all the provinces of the German empire were exhausted; they were destitute of provisions, men, and horses; while Holstein possessed all these in abundance. If they only succeeded in recruiting the army in this province, in obtaining refreshment for the soldiers and horses, and in getting the cavalry better mounted, such a result was worth the trouble and danger of the attempt: it was besides, now, at the opening of the negociations for peace, of the utmost importance to counteract the injurious influence of Denmark therein; to delay, by creating confusion, the peace itself which seemed so little in favour of Sweden, and, further to increase the number of her conquests, in order that, when the question of indemnification came forward, she might secure the only province which she wished to retain. The bad state of the Danish kingdom even justified the highest hopes, if they acted with celerity and mystery. They actually kept the secret so well in Stockholm, that the Danish minister had not the least suspicion thereof, and neither France nor Holland was let into it. The war was commenced without a previous declaration, and Torstensohn appeared in Holstein before they even suspected hostilities. Detained by no opposition, the Swedish troops spread themselves like a torrent over this dutchy, and occupied all the strong places, Rensburg and Gluckstadt excepted. Another army broke into Schonen, where it likewise met with very little resistance, and the stormy

season alone prevented the chiefs from passing the Little Belt, and carrying the war into Fuhnen and Zealand. The Danish fleet was unsuccessful at Femern, and Christian himself, who was on board one of the ships, lost his right eye by a splinter. Cut off from the far distant power of the emperor, his ally, the King of Denmark was on the point of seeing his kingdom overrun by the Swedes, and every thing seemed to announce the fulfilment of a prophecy attributed to the famous Tycho Brahe, viz.: That Christian IV. should, in the year 1644, wander from his kingdom, with nothing but a staff in his hand. But the emperor could not behold with indifference the loss of Denmark, and Sweden enabled to increase her resources by its subjection. However great were the difficulties of a long march through desolated countries, he did not delay to send an army to Holstein, under the orders of Count Gallas, to whom they had again confided the supreme command since the resignation of Piccolomini.

Gallas actually appeared in that dutchy, conquered Kiel, and hoped, after his junction with the Danes, to shut up the Swedish army in Jutland. At the same time the Hessians and the Swedish General, Koenigsmark, were occupied by Hatzfeld, as also the Archbishop of Bremen, son of Christian IV. and an attack upon Misnia obliged Koenigsmark to go to Saxony. But Torstensohn pressed through the unoccupied pass between Schleswig and Stapelholm, marched with his new re-enforcements against Gallas, and drove him along the Elbe as far as Bernburg, where the Imperialists had strongly intrenched themselves. Torstensohn passed the Saale, and took such a position in rear of the enemy, as to cut off their communications with Saxony and Bohemia.

Famine now appeared in the camp of the Imperialists, and destroyed the greatest part of their troops; their retreat to Magdeburg did not better this desperate situation. The cavalry, which endeavoured to effect its escape to Silesia, was overtaken by Torstensohn at Juterbock, and dispersed; the rest of the army, after a fruitless attempt to force its way, sword in hand, was almost wholly destroyed near Magdeburg. Out of so considerable a force, Gallas only brought back a few thousand men, and the reputation of being the greatest master in the art of ruining an army. After this unsuccessful attempt to relieve him, the King of Denmark sued for a peace, and obtained it, at Bremseboor, in the year 1645, under hard conditions. Torstensohn pursued his victory: while one of the generals under his command, Axel Lilienstern, threatened the Electorate of Saxony, and Koenigsmark subdued all Bremen, he, at the head of sixteen thousand men and eighty pieces of cannon, broke into Bohemia, and again sought to remove the war into the Austrian hereditary states. Ferdinand, upon receiving intelligence of this, hastened in person to Prague, in order, by his presence, to inflame the courage of his people, and, as a skilful general was so much wanted, and so little harmony reigned among the numerous commanders, to be near the theatre of war in order to act himself with the greater promptitude and vigour. According to his order, Hatzfeld assembled the whole force of Austria and Bavaria, the emperor's last army, the last bulwark of his states; and, against his own advice and desire, opposed them to the advancing army at Jankau or Jankowitz, on the 24th of February, 1645. Ferdinand relied upon his cavalry, which was stronger by three thousand horse than that of the Swedes; and still more upon the promise of the

Virgin Mary, who had appeared to him in a dream, and assured him of a certain victory. The superiority of the Imperialists did not frighten Torstensohn, who was accustomed never to count the number of the enemy. On the first attack, the Swedes put the left wing completely to the route, which the General of the League, Goetz, had entangled in a very disadvantageous situation, among marshes and forests; the chief himself perished, with the greatest part of his troops, and almost all the ammunition of the army was taken. This unfortunate beginning decided the entire fate of the battle. The Swedes, continually pressing forward, gained the most important heights; and, after a sanguinary contest, which lasted eight hours, and a furious charge of the Imperial cavalry, and the most vigorous resistance of the infantry, they remained masters of the field of battle. Two thousand Austrians were killed upon the spot, and Hatzfeld himself, with three thousand men, were taken prisoners. Thus did the emperor, in one day, lose his best general and his last army.

This decisive victory at Jankowitz opened at once all the Austrian states to the enemy. Ferdinand hastily fled to Vienna, to prepare for the defence of his capital, to provide for his own security, that of his family and his treasures. Soon the victorious Swedes broke into Moravia and Austria like an overwhelming torrent. After having conquered nearly all Moravia, surrounded Brinn, and rendered themselves masters of all the castles and strong places as far as the Danube, and at last even of the intrenchments at the Wolf's Bridge, near Vienna, they at length appeared in sight of that capital; and the care which they took to fortify the conquered places seemed to promise no short visit.

After a long destructive circuit through all the pro-

vinces of the German kingdom, the flame of war returned at last to where it commenced, and the thunder of the Swedish artillery reminded the inhabitants of Vienna of those balls which the Bohemian rebels had thrown, twenty-seven years before, against the Imperial palace. The same theatre of war also brought back the same means of attack. As Bethlen Gabor had been called by the rebels of Bohemia to their assistance, so was his successor, Ragotzy, now called by Torstensohn; Upper Hungary was already overrun by his troops, and his union with the Swedes was daily apprehended. John George, of Saxony, reduced to the uttermost necessity by the Swedes taking up their quarters in his territories, and abandoned by the emperor, who, since the battle of Jankowitz, was not even able to protect himself, took at length the last and only means of deliverance which remained: he concluded a cessation of hostilities with Sweden, which was prolonged from year to year until it ended in the general peace. The emperor lost a friend at the same time that a new enemy presented himself upon the frontiers of his empire, when his armies were annihilated, and his allies were beaten in the other extremities of Germany. The French army had effaced, by a brilliant campaign, the infamy of their defeat at Dutlingen, and occupied the whole force of Bavaria on the Rhine and in Suabia. Re-enforced with new troops which the great, and now by his victories in Italy illustrious, Turenne brought from France to the Duke of Enghein, they appeared before Freyburg on the 3rd of August, 1644, which Mercy had conquered a short time before, and defended with all his troops, covered by formidable intrenchments.

The impetuosity of the French bravery failed, indeed,

against the firmness of the Bavarians; and the Duke of Enghein was forced to retreat, after having sacrificed in vain six thousand of his men. Mazarine shed tears upon this great loss, which, however, the unfeeling Condé, who only listened to the voice of glory, made little of. "Paris alone," said he, "will in a single night make ample "amends for the lives lost in this battle." However, this sanguinary battle had so enfeebled the Bavarians, that, far from being able to relieve distressed Austria, they were not even able to defend the banks of the Rhine. Spire, Worms, Manheim, surrendered; the strong fortress of Philipsburg was obliged to capitulate for want of provisions, and even Mentz hastened, by a timely submission, to disarm the conqueror. The same events which at the beginning of the war had saved Austria and Moravia from the Bohemians, now saved the former from Torstensohn. Ragotzy had indeed penetrated, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, to the Danube, and was in the neighbourhood of the Swedish camp; but these wild and undisciplined bands, instead of favouring, by regular and well-concerted operations, Torstensohn's enterprises, only ravaged the country and augmented the wants of the Swedish army.

To compel the emperor to pay tribute, and despoil his subjects of their money and property, was Ragotzy's design, as it had been that of Bethlen Gabor, and both returned home as soon as this end was obtained. Ferdinand, to get quit of the barbarian, granted him what he demanded, and, by a slight sacrifice, delivered his states from this redoubtable enemy. In the mean time, the Swedish main army had greatly weakened itself in a tedious encampment before Brinn. Torstensohn, who himself commanded there, exhausted in vain, for the

space of four entire months, all the resources of his talents in the art of besieging; the defence was equal to the attack, and despair increased the courage of the commander De Souches, a Swedish deserter, who had no pardon to hope for. The destructive maladies which want, uncleanliness, the use of unripe fruits, the contagious atmosphere engendered in the camp, and the precipitate retreat of the Transylvanians, at length forced the Swedish commander to raise the siege. All the passes towards the Danube were occupied, but, as his army was considerably diminished by sickness and famine, he renounced his projects against Austria and Moravia, and contented himself with leaving Swedish garrisons in the conquered castles, for the purpose of having, as it were, a key into both those provinces, and directed his march to Bohemia, where he was followed by the Imperialists, under the Archduke Leopold. Those of the lost places which were not retaken by the Archduke, fell at last into the power of the Imperial General Bucheim, so that the following year the frontiers of Austria were completely delivered from the enemy, and Vienna, which trembled for its safety, was thus delivered from its apprehensions. Even in Bohemia and Silesia the Swedes only maintained themselves with very various fortune, and traversed both countries without being able to maintain themselves in either. However, if Torstensohn's enterprise was not crowned with the success which its brilliant commencement promised, it had nevertheless the most happy results for the Swedish party: through it Denmark was forced to make peace, and the Elector of Saxony compelled to an armistice; the emperor became more accommodating, France more courteous, and Sweden herself more confident and bold in her behaviour towards the

regal powers. Having fulfilled his important duty in so brilliant a manner, the author of these advantages retired, adorned with laurels, to the quietness of private life, to seek some alleviation from the torments of his disease.

After Torstensohn's retirement, the emperor indeed saw himself secure from any enemy's invasion on the side of Bohemia; but soon a new danger approached the Austrian frontiers from Suabia and Bavaria. Turenne, who had divided his force from the Prince of Condé to go to Suabia, was beaten in the year 1645 near Mergentheim by Mercy in a grand battle, and the victorious Bavarians penetrated into the country of Hesse under their valiant leader.

But the Duke of Enghien immediately hastened with a considerable succour from Alsace, Koenigsmark from Moravia, and the Hessians from the Rhine, to recruit the defeated army, and the Bavarians were then driven back to the extremity of Suabia. They at length made a stand at the village of Allersheim, near Nordlingen, in order to defend the Bavarian frontiers. But the impetuous bravery of the Duke of Enghien did not permit him to be frightened at any obstacle. He led his troops against the enemy's intrenchments, and a grand battle took place, which the heroical resistance of the Bavarians rendered the most obstinate and sanguinary; and at length the death of the excellent general, Mercy, the presence of mind of Turenne, and the unshaken firmness of the Hessians, decided in favour of the allies. However, this second barbarous sacrifice of men had little influence upon the course of military operations and the negociations for peace. The French army, weakened by this sanguinary victory, was still further reduced by the retreat of the Hessians; and the Imperial re-enforcements

which Leopold led to the assistance of the Bavarians forced Turenne to retire to the Rhine in the most precipitate manner. The retreat of the French now permitted the enemy to direct his entire force in Bohemia against the Swedes.

Gustavus Wrangel, no unworthy successor of Banner and Torstensohn, had obtained, in the year 1646, the chief command of the Swedish troops, which, besides Koenigsmark's flying corps and the numerous garrisons scattered through the empire, amounted to about eight thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot. After the archduke had re-enforced his army of twenty-four thousand men with twelve regiments of Bavarian cavalry and eighteen of infantry, he advanced against Wrangel, in the hope of crushing him with his superior force before Koenigsmark could join him or the French make a diversion. However Wrangel did not wait for him, but hastened through Upper Saxony to the Weser, where he took Hoexter and Paderborn. From thence he marched to Hesse, in order to join Turenne, and in his camp at Wetzlar was joined by the flying corps of Koenigsmark. But Turenne, fettered by Mazarine's commands, who willingly saw bounds placed to the prosperity and continually increasing pride of the Swedes, excused himself upon the pressing necessity of defending the French frontiers on the side of the Netherlands, since the Dutch had not made the diversion they promised this year. But, as Wrangel continued to press his just demand with energy, and as a longer refusal might awaken suspicions in the Swedes, and perhaps incline them to conclude a separate peace with Austria, Turenne at length received the desired permission to re-enforce the Swedish army. The juncture

took place at Giessin, and they now felt themselves sufficiently strong to oppose the enemy.

The latter had pursued the Swedes to Hesse, where he hoped to intercept their convoys and prevent their union with Turenne. Both these designs failed, and the Imperialists now saw themselves cut off from their communication with the Maine, and by the loss of their magazines were reduced to the greatest want. Wrangel profited by their weakness to execute a plan which was to give quite another turn to the war. He had also adopted the maxim of his predecessor, to carry the war into the Austrian states; but, frightened by the ill success of Torstensohn's enterprise, he hoped to attain the same end with more quickness and certainty by taking another route. He accordingly determined to follow the course of the Danube, and through Bavaria advance against the frontiers of Austria. Gustavus Adolphus had formerly projected a similar plan, but could not execute it, because Wallenstein's army and the danger which threatened Saxony stopped him prematurely in the midst of his victorious career. Duke Bernhard had marched in his footsteps, and, more fortunate than Gustavus Adolphus, had already carried his victorious banners between the Iser and the Iun; but the number and approach of the enemy's armies likewise restrained this general in his heroical course, and forced him to retreat. What both these generals had failed in, Wrangel now hoped to carry to a more fortunate issue, as the Imperial-Bavarian troops were far in his rear on the Lahne, and could only arrive in Bavaria by a very long march through Franconia and the Upper Palatinate. He suddenly marched towards the Danube, beat a Bavarian corps near Donauwerth, and passed that river, as also the Lech, without opposition. But, by fruitlessly laying

siege to Augsburg, he gave the Imperialists time, not only to relieve that city, but even to compel him to retreat as far as Lauingen. After the enemy, however, had turned towards Suabia, in order to remove the theatre of war from the Bavarian frontiers, he took the opportunity of passing the Lech, which they had abandoned, and defended it against the Imperialists. Bavaria now lay open and defenceless before him, the French and Swedes overran it like a rapid torrent, and the soldiers recompensed themselves for the dangers they had overcome by the most dreadful violences, by pillaging and exactions. The arrival of the Imperial-Bavarian troops, which at length passed the Lech at Thierhaupten, only increased the misery of a country which was equally plundered by friends and enemies.

Now at length, for the first time during the course of this war, the firm courage of Maximilian began to give way, which, notwithstanding the severest trials, had remained unshaken for twenty-eight years. Ferdinand II. the companion of his studies at Ingolstadt, and the friend of his youth, was no more. With the death of this friend and benefactor one of the strongest ties was broken which had bound him to the interests of Austria. Habit, inclination, and gratitude, had attached him to the father; the son was a stranger to his heart, and state interest alone could bind him to this prince. It was by political considerations that French artifice sought to detach him from his alliance with Austria and determine him to lay down his arms. It was not without a great design that Mazarine had concealed his jealousy of the increasing power of the Swedes and permitted the French troops to accompany them to Bavaria. Bavaria must experience all the horrors of war, in order that at last necessity and despair

should conquer Maximilian's firmness, and deprive the emperor of the first, as also the last, of his allies. Brandenburg had, under its great elector, embraced a neutrality; Saxony from necessity had likewise done the same; the war which Spain waged against France did not permit the former to take any share in that of Germany. The peace concluded between Denmark and Sweden had withdrawn the former from the theatre of the war, and a long armistice still kept Poland disarmed. If the Elector of Bavaria could be detached from his alliance with Austria, the emperor had no longer any defender in all Germany, and would without support be left to the discretion of both crowns. Ferdinand III. knew the danger which threatened him, and neglected no means whatever to prevent it. But unfortunately they had persuaded the Elector of Bavaria that the Spaniards alone opposed the peace, and that merely Spanish influence determined the emperor to declare himself against the suspension of arms. Maximilian hated the Spaniards, and had never pardoned them for having opposed him at the time of his projects upon the Palatine Electorate. And, to please this odious power, must he now behold his people sacrificed, his country ravaged, and himself destroyed, when by a suspension of arms he would be relieved from all distresses, obtain for his people the relaxation, so much needed, and by this means, perhaps, at the same time accelerate the general peace! Every objection vanished, and, convinced of the indispensable necessity of this step, he believed he should sufficiently acquit himself of his duty towards the emperor if he made him likewise participate in the benefits of the truce. The deputies of the three crowns, and of Bavaria, assembled at Ulm to adjust the conditions of the cessation of arms.

The Austrian ambassador's instructions, however, soon shewed that the emperor had not sent him to the congress to forward the pacifick conclusion thereof, but rather to retard the same. To gain them to the cessation of arms, it was necessary not to aggravate the Swedes by hard conditions; they were advantageously situated, and had more to hope than to fear from the prosecution of the war. They were indeed conquerors, and, notwithstanding the emperor, must presume to dictate the law to them. In the first transports of anger their ambassadors were not a little inclined to leave the congress, and the French were obliged to have recourse to threats to retain them. After the Elector of Bavaria's good intentions to include the emperor in the armistice had thus failed, he now thought he ought to attend to his own interests, and, at whatever sacrifices the armistice must be purchased, he did not hesitate any longer to make them. He permitted the Swedes to extend their quarters in Suabia and Franconia, and was content to confine his own to Bavaria and the Palatinate. The conquests which he had made in Suabia were given up to the allies, who on their side abandoned to him all that they possessed in Bavaria. Cologne and Hesse-Cassel were also included in the armistice. After the conclusion of this treaty upon the 14th of March, 1647, the French and Swedes abandoned Bavaria, and, in order not to interfere with each other, chose different quarters, the former in the dutchy of Wirtemberg, and the latter in Upper Suabia, near the Lake of Constance.

At the northern extremity of this lake, and on the southern point of Saubia, the Austrian town of Bregentz, by its narrow and steep pass, seemed to defy any attack from an enemy, and the inhabitants of all the surrounding country had carried their property into this fortress,

formed by nature, and taken refuge in it themselves. The rich booty which the immense provisions collected in this place promised, the advantage of obtaining a pass into Tirol, Switzerland, and Italy, prevailed upon the Swedish general to attempt an attack upon this defile, hitherto regarded as impregnable, and even upon the town itself. Both succeeded, notwithstanding the opposition of the peasantry, six thousand in number, who endeavoured to defend the pass. In the mean time Turenne had, according to agreement, marched towards the territory of Wirtemberg, where he, by force of arms, compelled the Landgrave of Darmstadt and the Elector of Mentz to embrace a neutrality after the example of Bavaria. And now, at last, the great aim of French policy seemed to be obtained; the emperor, deprived of all assistance from the League, as also from his Protestant allies, saw himself given up without defence to the united arms of the two crowns to dictate the peace to him, sword in hand. An army of twelve thousand men, at the utmost, was all that remained to him of his once-formidable power; and, as the war had deprived him of his best generals, he was obliged to confide the command of these to a Calvinist, Melander, a deserter from the Hessians.

But as this war occasionally exhibited the most surprising changes of fortune, and often by some unexpected event destroyed all the calculations of policy, so here also were the general expectations deceived by the result; and, after a short crisis, the so greatly depressed Austrian power raised itself anew to a threatening superiority. The jealousy of France towards Sweden did not permit her to behold the entire ruin of the emperor, and the Swedish power thereby attain to such a height in Germany, as might at length become fatal to France herself.

Thus the helpless situation of Austria was not taken advantage of by the French minister; Turenne's army was separated from Wrangel's, and sent to the borders of the Netherlands. However Wrangel marched from Suabia into Franconia, conquered Schweinfurt, and enrolled its Imperial garrison into his army, to penetrate alone into Bohemia, and had laid siege to Egra, the key to that kingdom. To relieve that fortress, the emperor caused his last army to march, and accompanied it himself in person; but a long circuit which he was obliged to make, to spare the estates of the president of the council of war, Schlick, retarded the march of the troops, and before they arrived Egra was already lost. Both armies now approached each other, and more than once a decisive battle was expected, as both parties were pressed by famine, the Imperialists superior in numbers, and as both camps and lines of battle were frequently separated only by the works erected between them. But the Imperialists contented themselves with observing the enemy, harassing him by skirmishes and fatiguing marches, until the negociations opened with Bavaria should have had attained the desired end. The neutrality of Bavaria inflicted a terrible wound that the Imperial court could not pardon; and which, after having in vain endeavoured to prevent, it resolved to turn to every possible advantage. Many officers of the Bavarian army were indignant at this conduct of their master, because it suddenly deprived them of employment, and imposed lasting fetters upon their inclinations for licentiousness. Even the brave John de Werth stood at the head of the discontented; and, encouraged by the emperor, formed the project of corrupting the whole of the elector's army, and going over with it to the emperor. Ferdinand did not blush secretly to

favour this treachery against his father's most faithful ally. He sent to the elector's subjects formal letters of recall, in which he reminded them that they belonged to the empire, and that the elector had merely commanded them in the Imperial name. Fortunately Maximilian discovered the conspiracy just time enough, by quick and proper measures, to prevent its execution.

The emperor's unworthy conduct would have justified reprisals on his part, but Maximilian was too old a statesman and too wise to listen to passion when prudence alone should be heard. He had not procured from the suspension of arms all the advantages which he had expected from it. Very far from accelerating the general peace, this partial armistice had given an unfavourable turn to the negociations at Munster and Osnabruck, and encouraged the allies in their demands. The French and Swedes were removed from Bavaria; but, by losing his quarters in Suabia, he saw himself obliged to maintain his troops in his own country, if he would not at once determine to disband them, and lay down his arms at a time when the right of the sword alone decided every thing. Before he determined upon either of these dangerous alternatives, he resolved upon a third, which appeared at least uncertain; he broke the armistice, and once more took up arms. His resolution, and the immediate succour which he sent the emperor to Bohemia, threatened to be highly pernicious to the Swedes, and Wrangel was obliged hastily to leave Bohemia. He retired through Thuringia towards Westphalia and Luneburg, in order to make a junction with the French forces under Turenne, and he was followed by the Imperial-Bavarian army, under the command of Melander and Gronsfeld as far as the Weser. His destruction was inevitable, if the enemy

overtook him before he had formed a junction with Turenne; but the same cause which had saved the emperor before likewise now preserved the Swedes.

In the midst of the fury of combats, the calculations of cool policy directed the course of the war, and the vigilance of the courts increased in proportion as they beheld the approach of peace. It was not then for the interest of the elector of Bavaria to permit the political balance of Europe to incline in so decisive a manner to the side of Austria, and by this sudden revolution of circumstances retard the peace. When all the treaties relative to a general peace appeared to be so near a conclusion, every event became of the highest importance, and the rupture of the equilibrium between the contracting powers made the work of many years disappear in an instant, destroyed the precious fruit of the most difficult negociations, and delayed the tranquillity of all Europe. If France knew how to keep the ambition of Sweden, its ally, within salutary bounds, by granting her support in proportion to her advantages or reverses, the Elector of Bavaria also silently undertook to adopt the same line of policy with his ally, the emperor, and thought, by a prudent management of his assistance, to remain master of the fate of Austria. The power of the emperor threatened all at once to obtain a dangerous superiority, and Maximilian suddenly refused to pursue the Swedish army. He feared reprisals on the part of France, which had already threatened to send the whole of Turenne's force against him, if he should permit his troops to cross the Weser. Melander, prevented by the Bavarians from pursuing Wrangel further, marched through Jena and Erfurt against Hesse, and now appeared as a formidable enemy in the same country which he had formerly defended. If

it was actually revenge against his former sovereign that determined him to choose Hesse for the theatre of his ravages, he gratified this passion in a terrible manner. Hesse bled under his scourge, and the misery of this country, so very ill-treated, was carried to the uttermost. He soon however had reason to repent of his substituting revenge for prudence in the choice of his winter quarters. His army was, in the exhausted country of Hesse, reduced to the greatest want, while Wrangel collected fresh forces in Luneburg, and new mounted his cavalry. Far too weak to defend his bad quarters, when the Swedish general opened the campaign in the winter of the year 1648, and advanced towards Hesse, he was obliged to retreat with disgrace, and seek his safety upon the banks of the Danube. France had once more disappointed the expectations of the Swedes, and Turenne's army, notwithstanding Wrangel's repeated demands, had remained upon the Rhine. The Swedish general in some measure revenged himself for this, as he enticed the cavalry of Weimar to him, which had left the French service; but this very step furnished new aliment to the jealousy of France.

At length Turenne obtained permission to join the Swedes, and now the two united armies opened the last campaign of this war. They drove Melander before them as far as the Danube, threw supplies into Egra, which was besieged by the Imperialists, and beat, on the other side of the Danube, the Imperial-Bavarian army, which opposed itself to them at Susmarshausen.

Melander received in this action a mortal wound, and the Bavarian general Gronsfeld took a position with the remainder of the army upon the other side of the Lech, to protect Bavaria from invasion by the enemy. But

Gronsfeld was not more fortunate than Tilly, who occupied the very same post when he sacrificed his life for the preservation of Bavaria. Wrangel and Turenne chose for their passage the same place which Gustavus Adolphus had before rendered illustrious by his victory, and they accomplished it with the assistance of the same advantages which had favoured him. Bavaria was now once more overrun, and the most barbarous treatment announced to its unfortunate inhabitants the rupture of the armistice. Maximilian shut himself up in Saltzburg, while the Swedes passed the Iser and penetrated as far as the Inn.

A heavy and an incessant rain, which in a few days made a violent torrent of this otherwise inconsiderable river, saved Austria once more from the threatening danger. Ten times the enemy endeavoured to lay a bridge of boats over the Inn, and as often did the torrent destroy it. Never during the whole war had the fears of the Catholics been so great as now, when the enemy was in the centre of Bavaria, and they no longer possessed any general whom they could oppose to a Turenne, a Wrangel, or a Koenigsmark. At length the brave Piccolomini arrived from the Netherlands to command the feeble remains o the Imperial army. The allies had, in ravaging Bavaria, deprived themselves of the means of remaining any longer in that country, and want obliged them to retreat to the Upper Palatinate, where the intelligence of peace put an end to their operations.

Koenigsmark had gone with his flying corps to Bohemia, where Ernest Odowalski, a discarded captain of cavalry, who was mutilated by balls in the Imperial service, and then dismissed without any recompence, proposed to him a plan for surprising Prague on its weaker side. Koenigsmark happily succeeded in this attempt, and

thereby acquired the glory of having terminated, by this last brilliant action, the Thirty Years War. This decisive battle, which finally triumphed over the emperor's irresolution, only cost the Swedes the loss of one man. However, the old town, the greater half of Prague, which is separated from the rest of the city by the river Moldau, yet occupied by its determined resistance the Count Palatine Charles Gustavus, the successor of Christina to the throne, who had arrived with fresh troops from Sweden, and assembled before its walls all the Swedish forces of Bohemia and Silesia. The approach of winter at length compelled the besiegers to take up their winter quarters, when they received information that peace had been concluded at Munster and Osnabruck on the 24th of October, 1648.

It must be reserved for another pen to describe what a Herculean labour it was to bring what is termed the celebrated, inviolable, and holy, peace of Westphalia to a conclusion; what apparent numerous difficulties were to be conquered and opposite interests conciliated; what a concurrence of circumstances must take place to bring about this difficult, dear, and lasting, work of policy; the obstacles which were opposed to the opening of the negociations, and, when commenced, the efforts that must be made for their continuation in the midst of the alternate successes and reverses of the parties; the great difficulty to ratify and put the seal thereto, and, after they were solemnly announced, to carry the same into execution; what finally was the substance of this peace; what, after thirty years of exertions and sufferings, was either gained or lost by each combatant; and what advantages or disadvantages may have resulted to all Europe there-

from. However great the undertaking was to relate the history of the war, that of the peace of Westphalia is one of no less importance,—a mere abridgment thereof would not do justice to this most interesting and characteristic work of human wisdom and passions, and deprive it of all that is most calculated to fix the attention of those readers for whom this work was particularly designed, and of whom I now request to take my leave.

THE END.

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